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Construction of a Developmental Social Privilege Integration Scale

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CONSTRUCTION OF A DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIAL PRIVILEGE INTEGRATION SCALE

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ABSTRACT

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The APA's 2017 multicultural guidelines task psychologists with the aspirational goal of understanding the nuances of historical and contemporary systems of power, privilege, and oppression. Scholars such as Helms (1984) demonstrated the critical need to readjust psychology's focus from oppressed groups to privileged groups. In her seminal 1988 article, McIntosh insisted that in order to "redesign social systems," privileged groups must first acknowledge their "unseen dimensions" (p. 1). Similarly, Black and Stone (2005) and Johnson (2018) asserted the lack of social privilege awareness is part of American culture, which helps to maintain the invisibility of privilege and the status quo of oppression. Since then, educators such as Case (2013) have argued that increased awareness of social privilege can shed light on and address the status quo of systemic and structural oppression. While instruments that measure constructs related to social privilege currently exist, psychology's understanding of these constructs has been growing. Bergkamp et al. (2020) created a developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM), which captures the growing definition of social privilege awareness by introducing the concept of social privilege integration. Based on the current literature, this study's objective was to construct items for a new developmental social privilege integration scale that will address the limitations of existing measures. This study hopes to contribute to the field of psychology as well as the general community by aiding in the accurate measurement of social privilege integration to better address systems of oppression in the future. This dissertation

Keywords: social privilege, social privilege awareness, social privilege integration, systemic oppression, scale development

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The APA's 2017 multicultural guidelines present a new and exciting epistemological shift in multicultural competence in the field of psychology. The publication of Guideline 5 introduces a social justice perspective to APA practice methods and standards for the first time. Guideline 5 states, "psychologists aspire to recognize and understand historical and contemporary experiences with power, privilege, and oppression" (American Psychological Association, 2017, p. 4). Although there are challenges in defining social justice (Thrift & Sugarman, 2018), the foundational work of scholars such as McIntosh (1988), Helms (1984, 2017), Black and Stone (2005), Case (2013), and Fors (2018) illustrate that privilege is a social justice construct that is critical for psychologists to discuss, define, and measure.

In her keynote speech at the 2014 Society for Intercultural Education Training and Research (SIETAR) Japan Conference, D. J. Goodman described oppression and privilege as "two sides of the same coin" (p. 1). D. J. Goodman (2015) elaborated:

> While it is critical to understand how some groups are disadvantaged by individual behaviors, institutional policies, and cultural norms that is only one side of the coin of oppression. The other side of the coin is understanding how some groups are advantaged. Looking at both sides provides a clearer picture of how systemic inequality operates, and uncovers more opportunities to intervene and create change. (p. 6)

Published in 2015, D. J. Goodman's speech mirrors the APA's intention with the publication of their 2017 multicultural guidelines, encouraging individuals to broaden their focus to both sides of the coin, oppression *and* social privilege. Further, D. J. Goodman (2015) suggested bringing social privilege to the forefront fosters valuable opportunities to address systemic oppression.

In her seminal work, McIntosh (1988) highlighted the veiled corollary relationship between privilege and oppression. She describes how she was taught about the disadvantages of racism but not about the advantages of White privilege. In 2012, McIntosh cautioned the academic community from only focusing on what is easily visible; that is racism or all forms of oppression, discrimination, and disadvantage. McIntosh (2012) stated:

> Many people who think they are writing about privilege are in fact writing about deficits, barriers, and discrimination, and cannot yet see exemptions, assumptions and permissions, granted by privilege. I am convinced that studies of oppression will not go anywhere toward ending oppression unless they are accompanied by understanding of the systems of privilege that cause systems of oppression. (p. 204)

McIntosh (2012) echoed D. J. Goodman (2015) arguing systemic oppression can only be disrupted by also understanding and becoming more aware of systemic privilege. McIntosh (2012) thus illustrates the importance of social privilege.

Psychology's shift in focus from oppressed groups to privileged groups does not intend to dismiss or minimize the shameful history of oppression in the United States. American historical oppression has transformed into a contemporary norm, benefiting dominant groups while simultaneously haunting today's disadvantaged. Western colonization, displacement of indigenous populations, the slavery of Black persons, mass internment of Japanese people, criminalization of homosexuality, and countless other injustices have resulted in the normalization of various "isms" including racism, classism, sexism, xenophobia, and homophobia to name a few (Carollo & Shoag, 2020; Lawrence v. Texas, 2003; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Zinn, 2003).

The psychological profession has also played a prominent role in normalizing, perpetuating, and operationalizing isms. For example, in 1917, a team of psychologists led by Robert M. Yerkes established the Army testing program which was used to systematically measure "intelligence" of 1,750,000 military men (Rury, 1988, p. 51). These tests artificially and falsely demonstrated that Black persons were "less intelligent" compared to Whites, thus creating a cascading effect of systemic disadvantage that has had a generational impact. The Army testing program indicated "Native whites" (Rury, 1988, p. 51) had the highest median intelligence scores and 89% of Black men were found to be "morons" (Rury, 1988, p. 52). Rury (1988) explained, "Over the next several decades, the results of the Army intelligence tests were taken as proof positive of Anglo-Saxon, white superiority in intellectual endowment" (p. 52). Rury (1988) additionally clarified, "Racism, it appears, was a major cause of the large black-white differences in 'intelligence' recorded in the 1917 Army testing program—a point which was missed (or ignored) by Yerkes and the other psychologists who initially analyzed the results" (p. 64). Racism was, therefore, operationalized, systematized, and standardized by psychology to become an inherent part of the socially constructed definition of intelligence.

Psychology has additionally played a role in substantiating and pathologizing difference through the use of diagnostic criteria. The American Psychological Association (APA) viewed homosexuality as a mental illness and diagnosis in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (*DSM*; American Psychiatric Association, 1952) first edition (Drescher, 2015). Homosexuality was removed from the *DSM-II* (American Psychiatric Association, 1968) in 1973, but replaced with a new diagnosis: Sexual Orientation Disturbance (SOD) which justified and "legitimized the practice of sexual conversion therapies" (Drescher, 2015, p. 571). SOD was then removed from the *DSM-III* (American Psychiatric Association, 1980), but replaced by a new diagnosis, Ego

Dystonic Homosexuality (EDH). However, the diagnosis was perceived to be the result of political compromises and was met with growing criticism; EDH sparked questions such as "Should people of color unhappy about their race be considered mentally ill?" (Drescher, 2015, p. 571). Sexuality as pathology was then removed from the *DSM-III-R* (American Psychiatric Association, 1987) in 1987. While homosexuality is no longer perceived as a mental illness by the APA, the diagnostic and statistical manual helped to establish persisting stigma and bias about sexuality within American sociocultural norms. The history of homosexuality as a mental health diagnosis demonstrates that differences in social identity domains can be pathologized by influential persons who hold positions of power. Thus, what is deemed "normal" is socially constructed and those who lack power pay the price.

There is increasing urgency within American communities to begin to effectively address systemic oppression. Psychology has seen significant movement in both recognizing the unique needs of oppressed groups and providing aid. For example, with the publication of the first multicultural guidelines in 2003, the APA recognized the importance of respecting the impact of various cultures outside of White, American, Christian norms in psychological education, training, research, and practice (American Psychological Association, 2003; Arredondo & Perez, 2006). Multiple studies have also exposed the adverse impact of discrimination, including Jane Elliott's (1968) blue-eyed/brown-eyed study (Elliott, 2017) and Clark and Clark's (1939, 1940) doll experiments (Ferguson, 2015). Moreover, scholars such as Whitbeck et al. (2004), Bryant-Davis and Ocampo (2005), and Carter et al. (2005), to name a few, reveal the cumulative adverse effects of historical and racial trauma. In the past two decades, D. W. Sue has also been critical in legitimizing and stimulating the exploration of microaggressions as he and his colleagues have

demonstrated the harmful and insidious nature of microaggressions on oppressed groups (Torino et al., 2019).

Psychology boasts a valuable body of work that highlights the experiences of oppressed persons and the depths of their disadvantage and suffering as well as systemic injustices. Countless studies have documented the mechanism and outcomes of oppression, especially racism, to such an extent that isms are now considered to be a fact of American society and culture. However, the persistence of isms emphasizes the need for the field to shift their focus and attention to the underbelly of oppression, social privilege. The research efforts of psychologists have historically focused solely on oppressed groups and thus emphasizes McIntosh's (2012) argument, that oppression cannot be adequately addressed without also focusing on social privilege.

In 1984, Helms noted psychology placed undue focus on the experiences of marginalized groups, which presents a multitude of dangers. For example, concentrating solely on oppressed persons leads to pathologizing differences and places the "problem" within the Other (Helms, 1984). Further, the perspective removes responsibility and effort from socially privileged groups and White counselors. Moreover, when privileged persons are unaware of their privileged positions, they are more likely to act out their dominance through unconscious acts (Fors, 2018; Torino et al., 2019). An increasing number of psychologists, and the APA, have answered Helms' (1984) initial call to examine the experiences of socially privileged persons. Scholars have since recognized the importance of defining social privilege and developing social privilege awareness to address issues of oppression (Case, 2013; Fors, 2018; D. J. Goodman, 2015; Helms, 2017; Johnson, 2018; McIntosh, 1988). Case (2013) stated, "Understanding dominant group privilege as it functions on a personal level is essential for individuals interested in challenging

systemic privilege" (p. 3). Case highlighted and echoed McIntosh (1988, 2012) and D. J. Goodman (2015) that psychologists' development of social privilege awareness is essential for challenging the status quo of oppression.

Although researchers have identified social privilege awareness as a pathway toward addressing systems of oppression (Case, 2013; Helms, 2017; McIntosh, 1988), there are currently no standards or guidelines for individuals to develop social privilege in an effective and responsible manner. The lack of guidelines is particularly problematic given the discomfort and difficulty associated with developing social privilege awareness. For example, Wise and Case (2013) described the uncomfortable experiences that often accompany social privilege awareness. The authors suggested individuals might feel judged or defensive, or have feelings of guilt, shame, fear, and hopelessness. Furthermore, Bergkamp and colleagues (2020) found the source of discomfort is when an individual gains a critical awareness of their social privilege, or a conscious awakening of their privileged and powerful position in the world and the meaning and consequence of their positionality. A critical awareness of social privilege demands that the person begin to integrate their newfound awareness into their identity, fundamentally altering who they are and the world around them. Bergkamp et al. (2020), therefore, proposed the term "social privilege integration."

Bergkamp et al. (2020) suggested there are limitations with the word "awareness" in that it can be binary and categorize individuals into either "aware" or "unaware," undermining the fact that social privilege awareness is a developmental and holarchical process. Further, awareness can be a passive experience in that once individuals gain awareness of social privilege, they might believe their mere consciousness of social privilege is sufficient for growth, allyship, and advocacy. Although awareness is necessary, it can permit a person to passively

observe their social privilege without feeling the need or responsibility to incorporate their social privilege awareness into all aspects of their life, changing the way they exist in the world and relate to both privileged and marginalized persons and groups. Awareness is necessary but not sufficient, thus, Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) introduction of the term "social privilege integration" which is a more accurate conceptualization and a more social justice oriented term; it is a call for action, for privileged persons to not only gain awareness of social privilege but to also integrate their critical awareness into the way they think, feel, and behave in the world. Henceforth, unless specifically referring to "social privilege awareness'" or awareness of social privilege, this project will use the term "social privilege integration" to describe the developmental process of social privilege awareness and the integration of that awareness which leads to self-transformation. Additionally, although this project aims to study and measure the construct of social privilege integration, when referring to other related models and measures, this project will refer to them as measuring varying types of social privilege awareness as the majority of the instruments measure awareness and not necessarily an integration of that awareness.

The uncomfortable transformative experiences suggested by Wise and Case (2013) and introduced by Bergkamp et al. (2020) that accompany social privilege integration present obstacles to understanding, becoming conscious of, and ultimately integrating one's critical awareness of social privilege; further stressing the need for more clear standards, guidelines, or instruments in facilitating the development of social privilege integration. While social privilege awareness related models and measures exist such as Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) social identity development model, D. G. Hays and colleagues' (2007) Privilege and Oppression Inventory (POI), Black and colleagues' (2007) Social Privilege Measure (SPM), and

McClellan's (2014) Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale 2 (APOS-2), there is limited literature indicting whether these measures help to foster social privilege integration. Further, the existing models and measures present various limitations associated with the restricted and narrow constructs the researchers explore. Therefore, the current study proposes the construction of a new developmental social privilege integration scale.

The objective of this study is to construct a scale that accurately measures an individual's developmental stage of social privilege integration. The study will ground scale development in Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM) and use their model to inform item construction. Bergkamp and colleagues' DSPIM offers several strengths which the current study hopes to leverage. For example, DSPIM utilizes a robust definition of social privilege and thus describes a nuanced theory of social privilege integration. In addition, DSPIM is unique in that they explicitly include developmental theory in social privilege integration and call attention to complex cognitive and affective experiences which result in a transformation of self. By adapting DSPIM into the construction of a developmental social privilege integration scale, the current study aims to create a measure that fulfills four primary purposes. With DSPIM's incorporation of Hays's (2008, 2016) ADDRESSING model, the first purpose is to assist individuals in determining their social location. The second purpose is to help individuals identify and clarify their specific developmental stage of social privilege integration. Third, to help individuals understand the distinctive experiences associated with their developmental stage of social privilege integration. Fourth, by identifying the developmental stage, individuals, educators, and mentors can also determine appropriate conversations or interventions for that stage with the ultimate hope of fostering further development.

The APA's 2017 multicultural guidelines introduce an aspirational goal; to adopt a social justice perspective by critically examining current and historical corollary systems of social privilege and oppression. Despite the burgeoning interest in exploring the "other side of the coin" (D. J. Goodman, 2015), the construct of social privilege integration is still fresh in its infancy. Therefore, in addition to helping individuals identify developmental stages of social privilege integration, the proposed measure will also aim to increase the psychological community's understanding of social privilege integration as a construct. The study hopes to help establish guidelines and standards for effectively developing social privilege integration and further the collective effort toward realizing the APA's aspirational goal.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The purpose of this project is to construct and standardize a developmental social privilege integration scale. The new measure will be based on Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM) that was formed through qualitative interviews and Grounded Theory analysis and construction. The following literature review is intended to substantiate the need for this measure and will discuss the constructs of social privilege, social location, social privilege awareness, social privilege integration, and models and measures related to social privilege integration. Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) four stage DSPIM is also described and summarized. This section will additionally provide definitions of privilege, social privilege, social privilege awareness, and social privilege integration, differentiating each term.

Definitions of Privilege

As evidenced by the APA's (2017) updated multicultural guidelines, social privilege is a concept that is becoming part of the dominant psychological discourse. However, the concept can be traced back to sociologist and historian W. E. B. Du Bois, who conceived privilege as singularly associated with racial identity and within the context of White privilege. In his 1903 book, *The Souls of Black Folk,* Du Bois noticed Black persons needed a "double focus" or double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903/1989 location 60), an ability see the self as both Black and American, but through the eyes of White persons. In 1935, DuBois identified the notion of White privilege as he argued that although both Black and White laborers received low wages, "It must be remembered that the white group of laborers … were compensated in part by a sort of public and psychological wage" (Du Bois, 1935/2007, location 16468). The term "wages of whiteness,"

which referred to Du Bois's psychological wages, or privileges, of white persons was later popularized by historian David Roediger in 1991.

Almost a century after W. E. B. Du Bois's publication of *The Souls of Black Folk*, Helms (1984) established herself as a pioneer in the study of Whiteness when she developed the five stage White racial identity model in 1984. Helms recognized that White and Black people share and both live in a racialized world; White people's identities are, therefore, influenced by racism in the United States. However, while Helms (1984) centered her attention on racial identity development, Peggy McIntosh (1988), as a White woman herself, reignited a critical dialogue about White privilege from the field of women's studies and education.

McIntosh (1988) recognized systems of privilege that advantages both White persons and male gendered persons, defining privilege as "weightless" and an "invisible package of unearned assets" (p. 1). McIntosh listed 50 of these unearned assets which ranged from "If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it had racial overtones" (1988, p. 3) to "I will feel welcomed and 'normal' in the usual walks of public life, institutional and social" (1988, p. 5). McIntosh's list of unearned assets referred to unquestioned belonging; physical and emotional safety and wellbeing; a general protection from harm; access to opportunity; receiving the benefit of the doubt; license to remain oblivious to others' race, ethnicity, and culture without penalty; and a general ease of life due to her White race; which she "takes for granted" (McIntosh, 1988, p. 6).

In her exploration of White privilege, McIntosh (1988) also recognized that privilege functions beyond interpersonal relationships. She shared her realization that "I was taught to see racism only in individual acts of meanness, not in invisible systems conferring dominance on my group" (McIntosh, 1988, p. 1). McIntosh thus defines privilege as an invisible system of

interlocking hierarchies. Further, McIntosh identified that privilege is not only related to White racial identity and male gender identity, but other forms of social identities as well. McIntosh (1988) explained:

> In addition, since race and sex are not the only advantaging systems at work, we need similarly to examine the daily experience of having age advantage, or ethnic advantage, or physical ability, or advantage related to nationality, religion, or sexual orientation. (p. 7)

More than two decades later, Case (2013) described privilege as referring to "automatic unearned benefits bestowed upon perceived members of dominant groups based on social identity" (p. 2). In this description, Case acknowledged that privilege is associated with different social identities as well as a system of dominance or hierarchy of power. Scholars such as McIntosh (1988) and Case (2013) broadened the conversation from White privilege and male privilege to the more comprehensive concept of "social privilege."

The Current Project's Definition of Privilege

While the concept of privilege has more recently been expanded to social privilege, the current study recognizes that privilege refers to the automatic and unearned benefits and advantages bestowed upon perceived dominant group membership based on one singular social identity domain such as White racial identity *or* male gender identity. When multiple dominant social identities are considered in combination, such as White racial identity *and* male gender identity, this can be understood as social privilege.

Definition of Social Location

In a parallel process, just one year after McIntosh's (1988) publication of "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," Kimberlé Crenshaw introduced the groundbreaking concept of intersectionality from the fields of gender studies and law in 1989. Crenshaw's (1989) theory

of intersectionality challenged a single-axis framework that delineated and viewed marginalized social identities as mutually exclusive. Crenshaw recognized the "multiply-burdened" (1989, p. 14) or persons who have multiple marginalized social identities, specifically, "Black" and "woman" were relegated to a distorted and partial frame of either "Black" or "woman;" a frame which dismissed Black women as whole persons. More recently, researchers including Collins (1990), Dill and Zambrana (2009), and Case (2013) have expanded intersectional theory to describe the overlapping interactions of privileged social identities and marginalized social identities within a single person. The concept of social location thus borrows from Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality as it describes a person's multiple privileged or oppressed and marginalized identities that intersect and create a social location which uniquely positions that person within society.

In 2008, P. A. Hays developed the ADDRESSING model, an acronym for ten social identity domains that describes an individual's position in society. The ten domains are age, developmental or acquired disability, religion, ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), sexual orientation, indigenous heritage, national origin, and gender. Bergkamp et al. (2020) additionally proposed that the domain of ethnicity should include racial identity, the domain of national origin should include citizenship, and the domain of gender should include sex assigned at birth. These social identity domains, specified by P. A. Hays (2008/2016) and Bergkamp et al. (2020), suggest that all persons have a position in relation to others within society (Hearn, 2012), and these relational positions are due to power differences between social identity domains.

Social identities and power differences between them are socially constructed and Smedley and Smedley (2005) elucidated the meaning and significance of their social construction. They noted that historians traced the term "race" back to the 16th and 18th

centuries, and that it was used interchangeably with other terms such as “type, kind, sort, breed, and even species” (Smedley & Smedley, 2005, p. 18). It was not until the early 18th century that race became a more widely recorded term and “By the Revolutionary era, *race* was widely used, and its meaning had solidified as a reference for *social* categories of Indians, Blacks, and Whites” (Smedley & Smedley, 2005, p. 18). Race as a social category was fabricated because during this time, the dominant political philosophies included ideas such as equality, democracy, justice, and freedom for all human beings. Thus, race, or differences in skin color, was operationalized to justify the dehumanization of Africans and their oppression and enslavement (Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

Smedley and Smedley’s (2005) historical account of the term “race” demonstrates how a socially fabricated construct can have real-world consequences. “The humanity of the Africans was debated throughout the 19th century” (Smedley & Smedley, 2005, p. 18), and false beliefs about racial differences are still unfortunately widespread today. For example, race-based societies, including the United States, distinguish between racial groups based on specific physical characteristics such as skin color, nose shape, eye shape, or hair texture; and, Black, Indigenous, or People of Color (BIPOC) are believed to be inherently inferior to White people because of these physical characteristics. This false belief, that BIPOC are inferior based on race, helps to describe harmful and pervasive stereotypes that exist in contemporary American culture.

While many Americans and the psychological field now dismiss the biological validity and significance of race, the social value and power of race can still be seen today, thus giving racism real-world consequences. For example, Smedley and Smedley (2005) described the disparities in healthcare for BIPOCs compared to White persons due to racism, including receiving lower quality care. In addition, when presenting with the same mental health symptoms, Black

individuals are more likely to receive more severe and stigmatizing diagnoses such as schizophrenia compared to White individuals (Eack et al., 2012). Black patients who report chronic pain are more likely to be perceived as drug seeking compared to White patients (Arredondo & Perez, 2006), and BIPOC are more likely to experience symptoms of trauma, depression, anxiety, hypertension, diabetes, cancer, premature births, autoimmune disorders, and cardiac arrest due to the consequences of interpersonal and systemic racism (Arredondo & Perez, 2006; T. B. Smith & Trimble, 2016; Torino et al., 2019).

Although each ADDRESSING domain (P. A. Hays, 2008, 2016) is associated with physical characteristics or biological attributes, like race, their societal power is socially constructed. The ADDRESSING model helps to further extend the current understanding that privilege is not only associated with White racial identity, but also linked to able-bodied, Christian, middle/upper SES, heterosexual, male, and cis-gendered identities as well as non-indigenous and U.S. born identities or U.S. citizenship. An individual can, therefore, occupy an agent rank (a privileged position) in some of these identity domains, thus affording special rights in society, and a target rank (a non-privileged position), thus denying special rights (P. A. Hays 2008, 2016; Hughes, 1945; Nieto & Boyer, 2006).

The definition of social location for the current project includes ideas inspired by intersectional theory (Crenshaw, 1989), the ADDRESSING domains (P. A. Hays, 2008, 2016), and social constructions of power difference. However, it is important to note that Moradi and Grzanka (2017) discussed the White American history of appropriating the intellectual contributions of marginalized persons for the benefit of privileged groups, and thus advocate for "responsible stewardship of intersectionality" (p. 500). This project thus hopes to honor the

Black feminist roots of intersectional theory by acknowledging its history and contribution to academic literature.

Moreover, the idea that privilege is associated with each of the ADDRESSING domains (P. A. Hays, 2008, 2016) and can intersect and overlap with each other, does not intend to minimize, dismiss, or dilute the historical and contemporary weight of White privilege. Given the dominant culture of "White heterosexual males of privileged class (WHMP)" (Helms, 2017, p. 718), this "Protects many intersecting identities (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, class)" (Helms, 2017, p. 718) and it is, therefore, "common to ignore the superordinate power of Whiteness by focusing on one of the other subsidiary identities" (Helms, 2017, p. 718). Whiteness is the foundation of all forms of social oppression; Whiteness is inextricably bound to other privileged identity domains providing more power to these identities, especially cis-gendered males, upper/middle class individuals, and U.S. born or U.S. citizens. Helms' statement provides valuable counsel in the study of social privilege that cannot be ignored. However, social identity domains outside of race/ethnicity also confer privileges independent of the intersection of Whiteness. In their systematic review of instruments measuring Whiteness, Schooley et al. (2019) noted that while White people maintain racial privilege, they might have other social identities that do not confer privilege. In their call to action, Schooley et al. stress, "In short, we must consider intersectionality in Whiteness scholarship" (2019, p. 554). The current project, therefore, does not aim to dilute White privilege, but to complicate the discourse such that a fuller picture of power, privilege, and oppression can be provided.

The Current Project's Definition of Social Location

Based on the contemporary literature, the current project defines social location as an individual's unique combination of intersecting privileged identities and non-privileged identities

based upon the ten social identity domains specified by P. A. Hays (2008, 2016) and Bergkamp et al. (2020). The terms “privileged identities” and “non-privileged identities” will be used interchangeably with “agent rank” and “target rank,” respectively, throughout the remainder of this study (Nieto & Boyer, 2006). Further, social location assumes that when an individual has more agent ranks than target ranks, they have a more privileged and powerful position within society compared to an individual with fewer agent ranks. Finally, privileged social locations are conferred through a socially constructed hierarchy and system of power that is founded in the American history and tradition of dominance and subjugation. McIntosh’s (1988) term “conferred” is used to highlight that individuals are branded as privileged or unprivileged from birth. Therefore, a privileged person possesses power regardless of their awareness or subjective experience of that power.

Definition of Social Privilege

As previously determined, fundamentally, social privilege refers to the automatic and unearned advantages, benefits, and power based on multiple intersecting dominant social identities or one’s social location. However, over time, researchers have highlighted the nuance and complexity of social privilege and Black and Stone (2005) provided a definition that both encapsulates and summarizes the descriptions offered by DuBois (1903/1989) and McIntosh (1988, 2012), as well as previous scholars. Black and Stone’s (2005) definition of social privilege includes the following five conditions:

1) Privilege is a special advantage; it is neither common nor universal.

2) It is granted, not earned or brought into being by one’s individual effort or talent.

3) Privilege is a right or entitlement that is related to a preferred status or rank.

4) Privilege is exercised for the benefit of the recipient and to the exclusion or detriment of others.

5) A privileged status is often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it. (p. 244)

The fifth condition in Black and Stone's (2005) definition, that privilege is often outside of the conscious awareness of privileged persons, suggests that social privilege awareness, or lack thereof, is an essential component of the construct of social privilege; which, introduces a unique challenge and quandary to the study of social privilege itself. How does one study social privilege when it can be outside of one's own conscious awareness?

In a similar vein, when discussing racial consciousness, Sue (2017) asked, "describing a person's racial awakening and awareness is important, but how does it help us explain why some White individuals transform and others do not?" (p. 712). Sue's question is relevant to all privileged social identity domains and highlights that some individuals appear to be more aware of their agent ranks compared to others; and this is likely due to the inconspicuous nature of social privilege.

Although McIntosh (1988) described privilege as "invisible," she also recognized privilege as implicit or unconscious. Thus, the invisibility of social privilege does not refer to the literal invisibility of unearned advantages (for social identities and unearned advantages often are visible, especially to oppressed persons), but the invisibility of the system of social privilege. McIntosh (1988) referred to her White privilege as "an elusive and fugitive subject" (p. 5) and:

> I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. So I have begun in an untutored way to ask what it is like to have white privilege. I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets … about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious. (p. 1)

McIntosh (1988) described privilege as "invisible" because the privilege that accompanies positions of power have been carefully woven into the everyday fabric of American life, such that they have become part of the undoubtedly accepted status-quo. McIntosh (1988) elaborated, "It seems to me that obliviousness about white advantage, like obliviousness about male advantages is kept strongly incultured in the United States" (p. 6). Indeed, men had not questioned their right to vote while White and Black women were denied this right until 1920 and 1956, respectively (Zinn, 2003). Similarly, with the current Black Lives Matters uprising in 2020 (Demby, 2020), a larger majority of White people are only now, approximately 400 years after the implementation of Black slavery in the United Sates (History.com Editors, 2020; Zinn, 2003), beginning to question their more privileged social locations due to systemic power, privilege, and oppression.

McIntosh's (1988) claim that privileged persons are "'meant' to remain oblivious" (p. 1) is similar to Helms' (2017) "rules of Whiteness" (p. 718). Helms explained:

> *Whiteness* is the overt and subliminal socialization and practices, power structures, laws, privileges, and life experiences that favor the White racial group over all others. The culture of White heterosexual males of privileged classes (WHMP) formulates and maintains the rules for determining who has access to the booty of Whiteness and at what level (Feagin 2017; Helms, 2016). Yet, society socializes everyone to adhere to the Whiteness rules simply because one exists in environments where Whiteness dominate. (2017, p. 718)

Helms' (2017) "rules of Whiteness" describe a system of power and dominance or "rules" created and maintained by individuals in privileged positions. Individuals in power can easily evade awareness of these rules (Neville et al., 2013) and thereby enact hegemonic Whiteness that

naturalizes the hierarchical status quo (Lewis, 2004). Black and Stone (2005), McIntosh (1988), and Helms (2017) all assert privileged groups have created a system of power and privilege from which they benefit at the detriment of others, but of which conscious awareness is not necessary and they are thus "'meant' to remain oblivious" (McIntosh, 1988, p. 1).

J. E. King (1991) connected Black and Stone's (2005) final condition of social privilege to systems of oppression, and offered an explanation as to why privileged persons are often unaware of their privilege when she described dysconsciousness:

> Dysconsciousness is an uncritical habit of mind (including perceptions, attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs) that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given. If, as Heaney (1984) suggests, critical consciousness "involves an ethical judgement [*sic*]" about the social order, dysconsciousness accepts it uncritically. This lack of critical judgment against society reflects an absence of what Cox (1974) refers to as "social ethics"; it involves a subjective identification with an ideological viewpoint that admits no fundamentally alternative vision of society. (J. E. King, 1991, p. 135)

J. E. King's (1991) concept of dysconsciousness suggests privileged persons can remain unaware of their privilege because they have actively learned or chosen to remain uncritical of the injustices of oppression in an effort to preserve their positions of power and soothe their consciences.

J. E. King's (1991) concept of dysconsciousness helps to explain why social privilege remains outside of privileged persons' conscious awareness. Freire, a Brazilian educator and philosopher, observed societal behaviors and states of being similar to dysconsciousness in his description of "massification" (1974/2013, Location 477). He stated:

> A "massified" society is one in which the people, after entering the historical process, have been manipulated by the elite into an unthinking, manageable agglomeration. This process is termed "massification." It stands to contrast to conscientização, which is the process of achieving a critical consciousness. (Freire, 1974/2013, Location 477).

J. E. King's (1991) dysconsciousness and Freire's (1974/2013) massification both maintain that all members of society are manipulated into being thoughtless or uncritical about societal oppressive norms advanced by individuals in positions of power and privilege. Like Friere (1974/2013), J. E. King also contrasts dysconsciousness with critical consciousness "about the social order" (1991, p. 244); the concept of critical consciousness can thus further illuminate the nature of having or possessing social privilege awareness.

Freire (1974/2013) first introduced critical consciousness in 1974. He recognized the process of oppressed groups becoming aware of their oppressed positions such that they can liberate themselves from their reality and enact social change. Freire described this process as "Conscientizes" (1974/2013, Location 434), which, "represents the development of the awakening of critical awareness" (1974/2013, Location 434). In addition, "If it is successfully carried out, it allows individuals to assume critically the position they have in relation to the rest of the world" (Freire, 1974/2013, Location 1585). Critical consciousness was originally conceived to describe the awakening of critical awareness for oppressed persons and a similar process can occur for socially privileged persons.

In the past several decades, the consequences of oppression, especially racism and sexism, have received attention, however, this focus has kept the conversation one-sided (Case, 2013; Helms, 1984).The conditions of social privilege, offered by Black and Stone's (2005) definition as well as the contributions of scholars such as McIntosh (1988), D. J. Goodman

(2015), Helms (2017), and Case (2013), highlight the systemic two-sided nature of social privilege. Social privilege and oppression are corollary and divergent systems that are "inseparable and codependent structural forces" (Case, 2013, p. 4). J. E. King's (1991) introduction of dysconsciousness further elucidates the dangers and consequences of remaining complicit and complacent to the invisible forces of privilege. Dysconsciousness suggests that when privileged persons begin peeling back the veiled "rules of Whiteness" (Helms, 2017) and dare to see what they are not "meant" to see, they can be shaken into critical awareness. The study of social privilege thus endeavors to inspire critical awareness and shed light on a system of power that has functioned in the dark for too long.

The Current Project's Definition of Social Privilege

Based on the existing literature, the current project's definition of social privilege is informed by Black and Stone's (2005) five conditions of social privilege as well as J. E. King's (1991) conceptualization of dysconsciousness. Social privilege is defined as: A special and unearned advantage and power that is granted by intersecting dominant group memberships (a privileged social location) and is "often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it" (Black & Stone, 2005), normalizing dysconsciousness of inequity, exploitation, and oppression (J. E. King, 1991). Further, the special and unearned advantage and power is "exercised for the benefit of the recipient and to the exclusion or detriment of others" (Black & Stone, 2005, p. 244).

Definition of Social Privilege Awareness

The construct of social privilege awareness does not appear to be well documented or clearly defined within the existing body of literature. Researchers who have operationalized and measured social privilege awareness have not provided a comprehensive definition. For example,

Black et al. (2007) describe social privilege and assert that counselors who possess social privilege should become aware of it, but does not describe what social privilege awareness is or how it can be achieved. Similarly, D. G. Hays et al. (2007) suggested multicultural counseling has expanded to include an awareness of social privilege and oppression, which affects counselors' attitudes, but also fails to clarify the construct of social privilege awareness. Alternatively, McClellan (2014) provided a definition that combines awareness of social privilege and oppressions but assumes that awareness is simply the awareness of the construct of social privilege and oppression. McClellan described social privilege and oppression awareness as:

> an individual's overall level of knowledge of the existence of the pervasive systemic discrimination that exists throughout the U.S. society in which privileged individuals benefit from the subjugation of others who are defined socially as less in some way than privileged individuals. (2014, p. 128–129)

Based on existing literature, social privilege awareness includes an acquired knowledge of the fact of social privilege. However, the construct also appears to comprise something beyond an acquired knowledge. McIntosh (2012), Wildman and Davis (2002), and Black et al. (2007) described social privilege as both a process and an outcome. Black et al. (2007) stated the process "occurs when the particular characteristics of a group (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation) are continually defined, promoted, and maintained as the societal standard against which all others are judged" (p. 17). The process of social privilege is the continual perpetuation of oppression based on a hierarchy of social identity domains. Black et al. suggest the outcome of social privilege is the unearned advantages inherited at birth and conferred by social identity.

Yet, social privilege awareness includes a process beyond the knowledge of the perpetuation of oppression.

Much like the concept of growing pains, the discomfort in developing social privilege awareness, as suggested by the Wise and Case's (2013) six obstacles to learning, allude to the developmental nature of the process. Developmental theory has been a strength of psychological thought and has provided an important lens for various conceptualizations of human progress including Piaget's (1976) cognitive development modal, Erikson's (1968) stages of psychosocial development, and Bandura's (1977) social learning theory. These models have had a prominent influence on contemporary Western ideas, presenting the juxtapositions between continuity and discontinuity and stability and change. Developmental theory has additionally supported the understanding that it is natural for individuals to grow, regress, and grow again over various amounts of time.

Developmental theory has been infused in psychology's identity development models. For example, psychologists have offered valuable insight into the developmental trajectories of the personal changes that occur to one's sense of self, as it relates to their racial and cultural identity. From Cross's (1971) five stage model of Black racial identity development, Helms' (1984) model of White racial identity development, Atkinson and colleagues' (1993) minority racial identity development, and M. J. Bennett's (1986) model of intercultural sensitivity, identity models depend on developmental theories to help accurately describe gradual changes; these changes occur when an individual becomes more aware of their racial or cultural identity and the racial and cultural standards and norms in which they exist. In applying the transtheoretical model of behavior change to social privilege awareness, Perrin et al. (2013) also recognized the developmental nature of the construct. Perrin and colleagues' model includes four

progressive stages: precontemplation, contemplation, preparation/action, and maintenance, and each stage is characterized by specific behavioral changes.

In their definition of social privilege, Black and Stone (2005) stated, “A privileged status is often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it” (p. 244). McIntosh (1988) discussed the invisibility of social privilege. Unawareness is thus an inherent part of social privilege and given the apparent developmental nature of social privilege awareness, it involves one’s gradual movement from being unaware to increasingly aware of social privilege. Although awareness is a key component, there is little exploration of the meaning of awareness as it relates to social privilege awareness.

Awareness can be described as consciousness (Zhao, 2018) and Bermudez (1998) suggested human beings possess both “physical self-awareness,” (p. 230) the ability to distinguish between one’s own bodily experience and the external environment, and “psychological self-awareness” (Bermudez, 1998, p. 230), the ability to distinguish between one’s psychological states and awareness of other minds. Morin (2011a) additionally suggested an individual must have knowledge of “private self-aspects,” which can include thoughts, attitudes, and sensations, as well as “public self-aspects” such as behaviors and physical appearance. Morin (2011b) argued “self-awareness represents a state in which one actively identifies, processes, and stores information about the self” (p. 369).
Thus, self-awareness also entails a consistency of self and identity across time and between different environments (Morin, 2011a, 2011b).

Bergkamp et al. (2020) apply developmental theory to the concept of social privilege integration, which involves an increase in social privilege awareness. They recognize the persistent and pervasive presence of dysconsciousness and suggest that an agent’s first

developmental step toward increasing their social privilege awareness involves a critical awareness, which punctures dysconsciousness and moves the agent from being unaware to aware of their social privilege. Moreover, Bergkamp et al. expand the definition of social privilege awareness beyond the knowledge and awareness of the fact of social privilege. They argue that it involves an agent's introspection and metacognition about their own social privilege based on their social location.

The Current Project's Definition of Social Privilege Awareness

Based on the existing literature, the current project uses the following definition of social privilege awareness, which is separate from and a component of social privilege integration. Social privilege awareness is a developmental process in which an individual experiences an awakening from dysconsciousness to a conscious and critical awareness of the fact of society's systems of power, privilege, and oppression, which includes an intentional recognition of one's unique social location within this system.

Definition of Social Privilege Integration

While identity development models imply a transformation of self, Bergkamp et al. (2020) appear to be the first who explicitly acknowledged self-transformation within social privilege awareness by coining the term "social privilege integration." The developmental process of social privilege integration moves beyond an increase of social privilege awareness and describes an agent's integration of that awareness, which inevitably results in a transformation of self. In their developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM) Bergkamp et al. illustrate how an individual's "identity narrative," a person's autobiographical stories and memories collected to create a cohesive sense of self, is threatened and challenged when they become critically aware of the fact of social privilege. Social privilege is often

experienced as threatening because it challenges prevailing privileged hegemony and presents a new paradigm which, often contradicts with existing beliefs about one's identity. Similar to Wise and Case (2013), Bergkamp et al. (2020) explained an experience of dissonance involving confusion as well as feelings of guilt, shame, fear, anxiety, anger, and sadness, as an agent confronts their critical awareness of social privilege; they are jolted out of dysconsciousness and begin to grapple with their newfound awareness of social privilege and transforming identity.

Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) introduction of social privilege integration highlights the limitations of social privilege awareness as awareness can be conceptualized as a binary term juxtaposing the states of being either aware or unaware. Further, awareness can be a passive experience and does not require agents to apply their social privilege awareness to themselves in any meaningful way. McIntosh (1988) and Case (2013) recognized that social privilege awareness is an avenue toward changing the status quo of oppression; however, unless agents are willing to not only increase their awareness of social privilege, but also integrate their awareness to take significant steps toward changing themselves and the privileged systems and structures within which they exist and benefit, oppression will never be meaningfully addressed. Bergkamp and colleagues' introduction of social privilege integration and the notion that agents can transform from this developmental process might provide an answer to Sue's (2017) question as to "why some white individual's transform and others do not?" (p. 712). Social privilege integration, therefore, seems to be a crucial concept that deserves greater exploration and study in the field of psychology and the pursuit of social justice.

The Current Project's Definition of Social Privilege Integration

In contrast to social privilege awareness and based on the existing literature, the current project proposes the following definition of social privilege integration, which is separate from

social privilege awareness and also includes it: social privilege integration is a developmental process in which an individual experiences an awakening from dysconsciousness to a conscious and critical awareness of the fact of society's systems of power, privilege, and oppression. This includes an intentional recognition of one's unique social location within the system and an integration of social privilege awareness into one's identity, which results in a transformation of self.

Social Privilege Awareness and Social Privilege Integration Models

The current project intends to construct a scale based on Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM) as it is currently the only model of social privilege integration. The following section provides an outline of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) model as well as a comparison to other existing identity theories of social privilege awareness. Although several models related to social privilege exist, Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM provides an ideal foundation for the construction of a developmental social privilege integration measure for two reasons. First, the model was constructed through qualitative interviews and grounded theory (GT) research; the stages of development are thus grounded in multiple individual's real-world experiences. In contrast, although valuable, other models are created exclusively through the researchers' individual experience and knowledge of existing literature. Second, the model incorporates a comprehensive definition and understanding of social privilege and social privilege integration, mirroring the definitions (described in the sections "Definition of Social Privilege" and "Definition of Social Privilege Integration") the current project hopes to operationalize and measure.

The Developmental Social Privilege Integration Model (Bergkamp et al., 2020)

Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) developmental social privilege integration model was constructed using grounded theory (GT) in which cyclic inductive and deductive approach to analysis allows a theory to emerge from the interactions of the researchers and the data. The researchers used snowball sampling and interviewed 10 participants with varying demographics. Their data analysis consisted of open coding, selective/axial coding, theoretical coding, peer debriefing, and methods from C. E. Hill's (2012) consensual qualitative research to support consistency, confirmability, dependability, and credibility of codes. From their GT research, a developmental model of social privilege integration emerged.

Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) model includes four stages: critical exposure, identity threat, identity protection, and reconciliation. Unlike other models, Bergkamp et al. also outline three conducive factors that help facilitate social privilege integration. These conducive factors consist of cognitive scaffolding, interpersonal safety, and intrapersonal safety. Bergkamp et al. specify that the model is developmental and individuals move in a non-linear and cyclical fashion. Further, although their model is described in stages the final stage, reconciliation, is not considered to be an end to social privilege integration; individuals move back to earlier stages after reaching reconciliation, with specificity to each identity domain. Thus, Bergkamp et al. suggest their model is applicable to all 10 ADRESSING (P. A. Hays, 2008, 2016) social identity domains.

Stage 1: Critical Exposure. The first stage of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) model is critical exposure, in which participants described one of two experiences, cognitive or comparative exposure. Cognitive exposure includes a critical awareness of social privilege through intellectual materials such as a multicultural or social justice class, a book, or the news.

Comparative exposure includes a critical awareness of social privilege when the individual compares themselves to someone with less social privilege, thereby realizing their own agent rank. For example, a person might have a friend who is Black, Indigenous, or a person of color (BIPOC), a family member with a disability, or a classmate who identifies as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, a-sexual, or any other gender or sexual identity (LGBTQIA+). Alternatively, the person might watch something on the internet or television, travel to a different state or country, or do volunteer work which provides an experience of comparative exposure. Bergkamp et al. assert whether through cognitive or comparative exposure, once an individual experiences critical exposure, they have been irreversibly introduced to the concept of social privilege and cannot move backward into a state of unawareness.

A current and relevant example of critical exposure includes the May 25 murder of George Floyd (E. Hill et al., 2020). Although countless numbers of Black people had been murdered by the police before May 25, the video-recorded murder of George Floyd tore the fabric of societal systems of dysconsciousness and directly confronted many White individuals, making their power and privilege impossible to ignore. Through the video recording and comparative exposure, many White people experienced critical exposure as they became irreversibly and critically aware of their White privilege.

Bergkamp et al. (2020) specify the difference between awareness and critical awareness of social privilege. They suggest an individual often experiences multiple exposures to the concept of social privilege regarding agent and target rank differences; these experiences might cause an awareness, that is a general knowledge or recognition of the fact of social privilege. However, these exposures are not impactful enough to startle that person out of society's

collective dysconsciousness. critical exposure occurs when the individual becomes critically aware of the fact of social privilege which causes them to question the reality of society and their sense of self. Bergkamp et al. suggest the context helps facilitate an individual's experience of Critical Awareness. Factors such as personal circumstance, historical context, emotional valance, and personal significance of the exposure, therefore, help to be catalysts for critical exposure.

Stage 2: Identity Threat. After a critical exposure, Bergkamp et al. (2020) suggest individuals move into Stage 2, identity threat, as they feel threatened by their newfound critical awareness of social privilege. Bergkamp et al. introduce the concept of "identity narrative," a person's autobiographical stories and memories collected to create a cohesive sense of self. Social privilege can threaten an individual's identity narrative because it often contradicts and challenges existing assumptions and beliefs about oneself. For example, agents can question the myth of meritocracy, the ideological viewpoint that society is just and fair, therefore allowing members of society to believe they can earn advantages exclusively through individual effort, ability, or merit. Bergkamp et al. suggest agents' narratives can be threatened because they doubt the origins of their individual success and wonder if it is primarily due to their privileged social location, over which they have no control. This notion mirrors McIntosh's (1988) reflections as she realized:

> The pressure to avoid it [White privilege] is great, for facing it I must give up the myth of meritocracy. If these things are true, this is not such a free country; one's life is not what one makes it; many doors open for certain people through no virtues of their own. (p. 5)

The second stage of Bergkamp and colleagues' model also echoes the findings of Wise and Case (2013) who suggested that when agents learn about social privilege, the myth of meritocracy can

be an obstacle to their learning, or impede their understanding and awareness of their own agent rank.

Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) identity threat includes two experiences, cognitive dissonance and affective dissonance. Cognitive dissonance includes confusion and uncertainty about one's identity narrative and the hegemonic societal norms that scaffold it. affective dissonance is characterized by a spectrum of emotions such as anxiety, anger, fear, sadness, grief, guilt, and shame, and mirrors Wise and Case's (2013) assertion that social privilege often causes uncomfortable emotional experiences. Of Wise and Case's six obstacles to learning about social privilege, they suggest five of them are emotional reactions, including defensiveness and judgement, guilt and shame, feelings of entitlement or a fear of loss, and hopelessness in the face of injustice.

Stage 3: Identity Protection. After identity threat, Bergkamp et al. (2020) suggest individuals then enter the third stage of their model, identity protection, as they experience an impulse to protect their identity narratives from the threat of social privilege. Identity protection is comprised of three different strategies used to soothe the dissonance stemming from Stage 2: defense, dilution, and empty advocacy. Defense involves high emotionality and can be characterized as the often instinctive and natural emotional reactions and behaviors to a threat. Agents in defense can express their frustrations through overt and covert aggressions or microaggressions as well as engage in victim blaming. For example, individuals with SES privilege can assume a homeless person's circumstance is due to inherent laziness rather than their less privileged social location. Or to return to the example of George Floyd's murder, an agent might blame his death on his criminal record or the use of counterfeit money, distracting from the reality of racism and White privilege.

Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) dilution appears to be a widely used strategy to soothe dissonance during identity protection. Dilution involves acts of minimizing or dismissing social privilege in an effort to distance oneself from the dissonance it causes. For example, agents can intellectualize the fact of social privilege but disregard how it applies to themselves, their social location, or their identity narrative. Bergkamp et al. suggested social privilege integration is developmental, and along this developmental ambit, individuals experience a transformation of self. Intellectualization is thus a means of dilution and a way to distance oneself from the affective dissonance of social privilege and circumvent or avoid the potential for personal transformation. Alternatively, agents can also engage in dilution by refocusing their attention from privilege to oppression; an individual might prioritize their target rank experience or focus solely on the experiences of oppressed groups without acknowledging their privilege. This type of dilution might manifest as an emphasis on diversity and inclusion; although it is important to respect different people's unique backgrounds and experiences, focusing on diversity does not nullify the fact of social privilege or the hierarchy of power that exists between different social identity domains.

Dilution can also involve the outright denial of the fact of social privilege or the subjectification of it, which can be characterized by the false assumption that social privilege might only apply to individuals in specific contexts or vary in degree. Examples of this might include a man saying he has less privilege when he is the only man in a roomful of women, or a White person saying they have less privilege because they have an Irish heritage and Irish people were persecuted in the United States throughout the 19th century (Zinn, 2003). In these examples, individuals dilute the fact of privilege because they fail to recognize their fixed and omnipresent agent rank; although individuals might experience less power (status) in different

contexts, it does not negate, neutralize, or relinquish the fact of that individual's agent rank (Nieto & Boyer, 2006). Similarly, Black et al. (2007) referred to the term "historical White supremacy" (p. 18) to explain how the privilege of Whiteness cannot be diluted. Black et al. (2007) stated:

> The term *historical White supremacy*, as it is used here, means that White has been and is viewed as a culturally valued norm against which all other races are evaluated. Hence, White people have not felt the need to identify themselves as belonging to a racial category because they have been the norm, or the standard, of what is "human." (p. 18)

Finally, identity protection can also entail empty advocacy. Empty advocacy occurs when an agent attempts to help or "save" a person with a target rank or an oppressed group without critical reflection or awareness. Empty advocacy parallels existing concepts such as "performative activism" (Green, 1997, p. 232), being a "White savior" (Hughey, 2011), being a "White knight" (Liu & Baker, 2014), or "performative allyship" (Adegoke, 2020; Phillips, 2020), and "performative wokeness" (Gray, 2018), which appear in popular culture. Bergkamp et al. (2020) stated social privilege integration can cause an agent to realize that they have privileged group membership and are personally associated with and benefit from the American history of oppression. Empty advocacy thus serves to soothe the agent's dissonance and affirm their existing identity narrative of "I'm a good person."

According to Tatum (2007), a White ally is a "a White person who understands that it is possible to use one's privilege to create more equitable systems" (p. 37). Spanierman and Smith (2017) further explored the concept of allyship and inquire as to how one might successfully achieve this role. After an extensive literature review, Spanierman and Smith (2017) offered six

steps of White allyship which can be expanded to apply to allyship for each social identity domain. These six steps toward allyship are:

1) Demonstrate a nuanced understanding of institutional racism and White privilege (Reason et al., 2005; Roades & Mio,2000 ; Smith & Redington, 2010)
2) Enact a continual process of self-reflection about their own racism and positionality (Case, 2012; DeTurk, 2011)
3) Express a sense of responsibility and commitment to using their racial privilege in ways that promotes equity (Goodman, 2011; Mio et al., 2009)
4) Engage in actions to disrupt racism and the status quo on micro and macro levels (Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Case, 2012; Kivel, 2011; O'Brien, 2001)
5) Participate in coalition building and work in solidarity with people of color (Bouette & Jackson, 2013; Gardiner, 2009)
6) Encounter resistance from other White individuals (Goodman, 2011; Spanierman & Smith, 2017, pp. 608–609)

In their six steps, Spanierman and Smith (2017) demonstrated that before taking actions to promote equity or disrupt the status quo, allyship requires an agent to first develop a nuanced understanding of systemic power, privilege, and oppression, as well as engage in a "continual process of self-reflection" (p. 608) about their privileged social location. Individuals who utilize empty advocacy fail to complete the first two crucial steps of allyship proposed by Spanierman and Smith. In their attempt to help oppressed persons or groups, empty advocates are in fact soothing their dissonance and preserving their virtuous identity narrative and inevitably risk doing additional harm on micro and macro levels.

Conducive Factors. In an effort to answer Sue's (2017) question, "why [do] some White individuals transform and others do not?" (p. 712), Bergkamp et al. (2020) found three conducive factors that aid an individual's development of social privilege integration and facilitate movement from Stage 3, identity protection, to Stage 4, reconciliation, in their model. These three conducive factors include cognitive scaffolding, interpersonal safety, and intrapersonal safety. Much like Freire's argument that critical consciousness does not occur passively but grows "out of a critical educational effort" (1974/2013, Location 434), Bergkamp et al. (2020) found participants' development benefitted from a sociohistorical framework of social privilege. Case (2013) and Bergkamp et al. (2020) suggested education about social privilege is especially helpful when provided by trusted sources who can facilitate an open learning environment in which agents can explore their various thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Cognitive scaffolding, or an educational framework of social privilege, is thus central to the facilitation of social privilege integration.

According to Bergkamp et al. (2020), interpersonal safety exists when an agent has a secure, non-judgmental, and compassionate relationship with another person with whom they can safely explore their experience of social privilege. Bergkamp et al. found participants appear to move into the fourth stage of their model, reconciliation, with greater ease when they have interpersonal safety. Finally, intrapersonal safety exists when an agent has a resilient personal identity. Intrapersonal safety appears especially vital to the development of social privilege integration because it inherently entails a process of self-transformation. A personal identity is different from an identity narrative in that an individual's personal identity remains unchanged and consistent while their identity narrative is malleable and can change with the passage of

time. Further, a strong or resilient personal identity contributes to an individual's belief that they can endure change and will ultimately be "okay." Agents with intrapersonal safety cultivate self-compassion and curiosity about their own agent rank. In addition, intrapersonal safety provided a foundation that supported the incorporation of a newfound critical awareness of social privilege and potential for self-transformation.

Stage 4: Reconciliation. After Stage 3, and with the presence of the aforementioned conducive factors, individuals enter Stage 4, reconciliation. Bergkamp et al. (2020) characterized reconciliation as a stage in which agents may experience acceptance, integration, and agent advocacy. Acceptance entails an agent's acceptance of dissonance, originating from Stage 2, identity threat, as well as an acceptance of the fact of their agent.

Integration epitomizes the developmental process of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM as agents can actively resist integrating social privilege awareness into one's identity narrative, which inhibits the developmental process. After a critical exposure in Stage 1, the critical awareness of social privilege threatens the individual's identity narrative during Stage 2, indicating that the critical awareness of social privilege threatens to change the agent. Then, agents commonly enter Stage 3, during which the threat of social privilege draws agents to mollify the of threat and defend, dilute, or engage in behaviors to protect social privilege from changing one's identity narrative and to preserve dysconsiousness. Finally, with the presence of conducive factors, when agents enter Stage 4, they can accept social privilege and begin to integrate their critical awareness of social privilege into their identity narrative. Agents accept the threatening nature of social privilege and surrender their fight to protect themselves from critical awareness of social privilege which, inevitably changes their identity narrative; agents realize social privilege has always been and will always be part of who they are and so their fight

to protect themselves from social privilege is, ultimately, futile. When agents finally integrate social privilege awareness into their identity narrative, this introduces a new sense of authenticity and congruence between their core identity, or who they actually are, and their identity narrative.

Although the integration of social privilege awareness can promote authenticity and congruence, it can also potentially have a detrimental and disruptive ripple effect on an agent's social network and relationship with family, friends, or co-workers. Privilege dysconsciousness is a collective experience thus, when an agent shifts into reconciliation, they break the social contract of dysconsciousness and risk their existing relationships with agents who are less developmentally aware of their own social privilege. This risk of relational ruptures for agents further highlights the importance of Bergkamp and colleagues' conducive factors, especially interpersonal safety and intrapersonal safety; a secure and stable sense of self as well as a network of agents who have worked toward integrating their social privilege awareness can help to counter the possible loss of relationships that can accompany social privilege integration.

Agent advocacy is another component of reconciliation that involves an agent realizing they can use their privileged position to create a more equitable system. Given that oppressive systems are created and maintained by privileged persons, agents can generate the most impactful and sustainable change when they dialogue or take action on an agent-to-agent level. Bergkamp et al. (2020) also suggested that agent advocacy entails an agent appreciating the difficulty of their own process of social privilege awareness and thus cultivate compassion for other agents who might not be as advanced in their social privilege awareness development. While integration of social privilege awareness does not necessarily have to include agent advocacy, agent advocacy is an example of how an agent can transform from the developmental social privilege integration. Bergkamp et al. noted that although reconciliation is represented as

the last stage of their model, individuals rarely remain in this stage; agents engage in a holarchical progression, sometimes within a short period of time and dependent on which social identity domain is most salient to the individual. Bergkamp and colleagues' model thus represents an ongoing and continuous process of life-long social privilege awareness development.

Bergkamp et al. (2020) asserted reconciliation can occur for multiple social identity domains. Initially, depending on an agent's circumstance, they might be more aware of one social identity domain. For example, given the current Black Lives Matters uprising, White individuals might be more aware of their racial privilege. However, when agents move through the model for one social identity domain, this can influence and inform their social privilege awareness for another identity domain.

Comparison of DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020) to Existing Identity Development Models

Identity development models related to the construct of social privilege have been published throughout the history of psychology. For example, in 1977, Ganter offered a three-stage model of White identity development and Helms constructed the widely-cited model of white racial identity development in 1984. Later, in 2004, Spanierman and Heppner developed the psychosocial costs of racism to Whites theory and Perrin et al. proposed the transtheoretical model of behavior change for privilege awareness in 2013. With the lens of multiculturalism, M. J. Bennett created the developmental model of intercultural sensitivity in 1986, and in 1997, Hardiman and Jackson explored the construct of social privilege itself and created the social identity development model.

Although additional identity development models exist, Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) model provides an ideal foundation for a new developmental social privilege integration

measure for two primary reasons. First, the model was constructed through GT research and qualitative interviews; the stages of development are thus representative of individuals' real-world experiences. Second, their model incorporates a comprehensive definition and understanding of social privilege integration. Bergkamp et al. use similar definitions of social privilege and social privilege integration as the definitions offered for this project (see the sections "Definition of Social Privilege" and "Definition of Social Privilege Integration"). Bergkamp et al. utilized Black and Stone's (2005) definition of social privilege and P. A. Hays's (2016) ADDRESSING model to describe the different types of intersecting agent and target ranks an individual might have to create a unique social location. They additionally acknowledged the developmental process of social privilege integration and a non-linear movement from dysconsciousness to critical awareness then to integration that involves the accumulation of knowledge, a transformation of self, and a consciousness of these two experiences.

Although Whiteness is a function of social privilege, the current project assumes that Whiteness is only one of 10 types of social identity privilege (Bergkamp et al., 2020; P. A. Hays, 2016). Ganter's (1977) and Helms' (1984) models describe White identity development exclusively and thus provide a focus that is too narrow for the construct of social privilege. Similarly, Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) model describe an anti-racist White identity model and does not provide a full picture of social privilege integration development. M. J. Bennett's (1986) model is additionally misaligned with the current project as his details the development of interculturally sensitive identity. Unlike other identity models, Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) model reflects the construct of social privilege awareness. Their model was expanded from their

research on Black and White racial identity development and includes social identity development in general, applying to people in both dominant and subordinated groups.

Comparison of DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020) to WRIDM (Helms, 1984)

Although Helms' (1984) white racial identity development model (WRIDM) measures the construct of White racial identity, the models' stages share many similarities with Bergkamp and colleagues' DSPIM. For example, WRIDM's first stage is contact, which occurs "As soon as one encounters the idea or the actuality of Black people" (Helms, 1990, p. 55), and this stage can occur ether "vicariously or directly" (Helms, 1990, p. 54). Contact is akin to Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) first stage, critical exposure, as both speak to an initial encounter with the Other that can take place either through direct contact or by becoming informed of the Other. Helms' (1990) suggested individuals might remain in contact depending on if they had a vicarious or direct exposure and when contact "socialization experiences penetrate the White person's identity system" (p. 58). Similarly, Bergkamp et al. suggested individuals might have multiple exposures to difference, but do not enter critical exposure until they have an experience that punctures their dysconsciousness.

The second stage of the WRIDM is disintegration, which is an "Awareness of the social implications of race on a personal level" (Helms, 1990, p. 68) and often presents a conflicted experience of Whiteness. This stage mirrors Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) second stage, identity threat, as both authors describe experiencing dilemmas about oneself and the world. Helms (1990) suggested, "During this stage, the person may feel caught between White and Black culture, oppression, and humanity" (p. 68). There is a pull to recognize oppression and a resistance to this recognition because it inherently involves an acknowledgment of how one is a benefactor of oppression. Bergkamp et al. (2020) argued this stage entails dissonance and

confusion and describe Helms' (1990) conceptualization of moral dilemmas as a "paradox of power."

The third stage, reintegration, occurs when a White person's feelings of guilt and anxiety about their Whiteness morphs into fear and anger toward Black people (Helms, 1990). This stage is similar to aspects of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) identity protection stage, specifically defense. During defense, due to the threat of their own social privilege, agents' dissonance can manifest as fear or anger toward targets. Thus, agents might make racist comments, engage in sexist behaviors, or unconsciously act out their classism or xenophobia by suggesting homeless people are "lazy" or immigrants are "taking jobs away." Likewise, Helms (1990) suggested during reintegration, "Anger [is] covertly or overtly expressed as well as [a] projection of one's feelings" (p. 68). Both Bergkamp et al. (2020) and Helms (1990) also described an avoidance of social privilege or race in their stages.

Pseudo-independence is the fourth stage of WRIDM and occurs when a White person rejects notions of White superiority and Black inferiority. In this stage, Helms (1990) stated, "The person has an intellectual understanding of Black culture and the unfair benefits of growing up White in the United States" (p. 68). White people, therefore, begin to try and redefine their Whiteness, but not necessarily in a positive way. Helms (1990) asserted, "Many black people will be suspicious of the motives of a person who devotes so much attention to helping Blacks rather than changing Whites" (p. 62). Pseudo-independence resembles aspects of Bergkamp and colleagues' third stage, identity protection, and specifically the soothing strategy of empty advocacy.

Finally, the fifth stage of WRIDM, Autonomy, takes place when a White person is able to achieve a "bicultural or racially transcendent worldview" (Helms, 1990, p. 68). This last stage

consists of the White person internalizing a positive anti-racist identity and is conceptualized as an “ongoing process” (Helms, 1990, p. 66). Bergkamp and colleagues’ (2020) last stage, reconciliation, reflects autonomy in that they also describe an integration of a new, more positive identity and, therefore, a change in self.

Despite the many similarities between the WRIDM and the DSPIM, there are two notable differences between the two models. First, the third and fourth stages of Helms’ (1990) model are represented in aspects of the third stage of the Bergkamp et al. (2020) model. There is, therefore, dissimilarity in the trajectory of development. Second, Helms’ (1990) fifth stage differs from Bergkamp and colleagues’ (2020) reconciliation in that Bergkamp et al. note agents cannot have a transcended perception or experience; their last stage is characterized by an experience which might even be described as radical acceptance, as the agent realizes they are stuck within in a system that they want to begin to change but from which they cannot immediately escape. Moreover, whereas Helms (1990) suggested individuals remain in autonomy and continue to experience growth in this stage, Bergkamp et al. (2020) asserted agents cycle through the beginning stages of their model, and can reach reconciliation for one or more social identity domains multiple times.

While there are several differences between WRIDM and DSPIM, it is important to highlight the similarities, especially as they introduce several critical questions for the current study. According to Grounded Theory, researchers complete a literature review after a theory emerges from the data (Glaser, 1978), allowing for an inductive or a posteriori research method. Therefore, Bergkamp and colleagues’ DSPIM was not influenced by Helms’ (1990) model, and the similarities became apparent after the model emerged. The researcher thus wonders if the development of privilege integration for one identity domain resembles the development of other

individual identity domains (e.g., gender, SES, sexual identity etc.), or if there are slight differences between them. The researcher also wonders if there are significant differences between the development of privilege integration in one identity domain compared to social privilege which represents all intersecting identities. The current study hopes it might illuminate some of these questions.

Social Identity Development Model (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997). Given that Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) social identity development model (SIDM) describes a similar construct to Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) developmental social privilege integration model, the following section will outline Hardiman and Jackson's five-stage developmental process. This section will additionally highlight similarities and differences as well as clarify the strengths of Bergkamp and colleagues' model for the current project. D. J. Goodman (2011) provided a particularly helpful description of Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) model, thus some of her elaborations will be used in the outline below.

Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) social identity development model includes five stages: naïve, acceptance, resistance, redefinition, and internalization; and members of dominant groups move through these stages in sequential order. However, D. J. Goodman (2011) specified that although each stage portrays a "predominant world view" (p. 45), individuals might act from multiple stages. D. J. Goodman also explained that some of the stages are more "active" or "conscious" while others are "passive" or "unconscious" (2011, p. 45).

The first stage, naïve, can often be applied to children as "there is little or no awareness of social identities and systemic inequality" (D. J. Goodman, 2011, p. 45). In the second stage, acceptance, individuals accept, internalize, and participate in the unjust society and unequitable social hierarchy. Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) model specifies between active acceptance and

passive acceptance. In active acceptance, "people consciously and overtly express an oppressive perspective" (D. J. Goodman, 2011, p. 45) whereas in passive acceptance, people "unintentionally and covertly perpetuate systems of inequality" (D. J. Goodman, 2011, p. 45). Passive acceptance is characterized by more unconscious forms of discrimination and individuals might deny difference or injustice and claim to be color-blind.

In Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) model, members of dominant groups can move into the third stage, resistance, which is characterized by a resistance to the oppressive status quo. Individuals begin to question oppressive ideology and acknowledge and understand their own participation in the system. In describing this stage, D. J. Goodman (2011) noted, "Sometimes, they will want to dissociate themselves from other 'oppressors,' to be the special or 'good' one, and to try to over-identify and affiliate with people in the disadvantaged group" (p. 46). Hardiman and Jackson (1997) again specify between active and passive resistance. Active resistance includes individuals actively confronting discrimination and attempting to change the oppressive system. In contrast, passive acceptance includes individuals who are aware of injustice but avoid taking risks or taking action. D. J. Goodman (2011) additionally suggested:

> The resistance stage is primarily concerned with "Who I am not," and reacting to the unjust society. The focus has been on the injustice faced by the disadvantaged group, not on their own identity or culture. With this new consciousness, people from the dominant group may need to begin to answer the question, "Who am I?" (p. 46)

According to D. J. Goodman's (2011) description of Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) resistance stage, it is characterized by a questioning of one's identity and sense of self in a newly acknowledged unjust world.

The fourth stage, redefinition, involves the redefinition of an individual's identity as well as the dominant group of which they belong (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997). This stage ultimately results in a more complex understanding of self as well as they system of oppression. Finally, the fifth stage of Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) model is internalization, which occurs "Once people become comfortable with their new sense of identity" and "people at this stage need peers or organizations where there are people who share their perspective and can affirm this sense of identity" (D. J. Goodman, 2011, p. 47).

Comparison of DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020) to SIDM (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997). Bergkamp et al. (2020) and Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) models share some important similarities. For example, as with most identity development models, Bergkamp et al. (2020) and Hardiman and Jackson (1997) both describe individuals moving from a stage of unawareness to awareness. Both researchers also describe individuals questioning the oppressive status quo and, therefore, questioning their sense of self. Both researchers thus incorporate a process of self-transformation in their models. In addition, Bergkamp et al. (2020) and Hardiman and Jackson (1997) acknowledge an acceptance and integration of social privilege in their redefinition of identity and self-transformation. Finally, both researchers' final stages suggest individuals gain an increased sense of comfort in their identities and indicate the need for peer support.

Despite these similarities, there are also four fundamental differences between Bergkamp et al. (2020) and Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) models which demonstrate the strengths and appropriateness of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM) for the current project. Differences include variation in construct and disagreement in developmental trajectories, assumptions about unconscious participation in

oppressive systems, and at what stage social justice action occurs. These differences will be outlined below.

First, although the difference is subtle, Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) model describes socially privileged identity development whereas Bergkamp and colleagues' model describes social privilege integration. Although identity development is implied in DSPIM and social privilege integration is implied in SIDM, it can be argued that both models are slightly different. Specifically, social privilege integration includes the process of moving from dysconsciousness to critical awareness as well as self-reflection, metacognition, and integration. Second, although D. J. Goodman (2011) described Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) model as "sequential" (p. 45), Bergkamp et al. (2020) explicitly distinguish their model as developmental and provide room for individuals to progress forward, move backward, repeat stages, and even plateau. The DSPIM, therefore, provides a more nuanced and naturalistic developmental process that the current project hopes to capture.

Third, Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) stages suggest individuals only begin to actively or passively participate in an unjust system once they become aware of it. This assumption represents an inaccurate depiction of privileged persons' experiences; agents actively and passively participate in systems of social privilege whether or not they are conscious of social privilege. In comparison to Hardiman and Jackson (1997), Bergkamp and colleagues' model aligns with this fact, that agents are always participating in the system of social privilege even if they do not begin to develop social privilege awareness until they experience a critical exposure.

Finally, the SIDM suggests individuals can begin actively resisting discriminatory attitudes and working to change oppressive policies in the third stage before individuals begin Redefinition and integrate social justice principles to their new identities. The DSPIM, however,

indicates that social justice action is illustrative of their final stage, reconciliation. Given the risk of agents participating in empty advocacy, as described by Bergkamp et al. (2020) and Spanierman and Smith's (2017) six steps to allyship which argue individuals must first engage in self-reflection before committing to social justice action, the current project believes DSPIM depicts a more accurate model of stage development.

Social Privilege Awareness Measures

In 2019, Schooley et al. conducted an extensive systematic review about the literature pertaining to the measurement of Whiteness in psychological research. Schooley et al. identified 25 instruments that assessed various aspects of Whiteness and reviewed 18 instruments that had "at least one published article dedicated to scrutinizing their development and/or psychometric properties" (2019, p. 535). Although Schooley et al. offer valuable insight into the variety and quality of instruments measuring aspects of Whiteness, their review does entail all measures associated with social privilege integration. While the current study will not review all 25 of the measures identified by Schooley et al., nine instruments will be reviewed and have been selected because of their prominence in psychological research or likeness to the construct of social privilege integration.

Instruments measuring social privilege integration or related constructs have been developed and published throughout the past several decades. For example, this project will review the following measures: Claney and Parker's White Racial Consciousness Scale (WRCDS), developed in 1989, and Helms and Carter's White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS), constructed in 1990, Montross's Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale (APOS), developed in 2003, and Spanierman and Heppner's Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW) Scale, created in 2004. This project will also review D. G. Hays and colleagues'

Privilege and Oppression Inventory (POI), created in 2007, and Black and colleagues' Social Privilege Measure (SPM), published in 2007. McClellan revised the APOS and published the Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale – 2 (APOS-2) in 2014. Finally, Diemer et al. created the Critical Consciousness Scale (CCS) in 2017 and Grzanka et al. introduced their White Racial Affect Scale (WRAS) in 2020.

While these measures have many strengths, they also present limitations that support the need for a more comprehensive and developmental social privilege integration scale. The following section will provide a brief outline for each of the aforementioned measures. This section will additionally offer a discussion about how each of the measures present with at least one of four primary limitations or weaknesses that the current project has identified. These limitations include: a restrictive and narrow construct, a limited approach to item construction, and exclusion of developmental affective experience or transformative process.

The White Racial Consciousness Development Scale (WRCDS; Claney & Parker, 1989)

Claney and Parker (1989) developed the White Racial Consciousness Scale (WRCDS), a 15-item measure utilizing a 5-point Likert scale anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 5 (*strongly agree*). The instrument is adapted from Helms' (1984) model of White racial identity development and measures "White racial consciousness" (Claney & Parker, 1989, p. 450) as well as perceived comfort with Black people. Claney and Parker constructed items by rephrasing Helms' (1990) description of each of the five stages of the White racial identity development model and three items for each stage was retained. The WRCDS was validated with 339 White undergraduate students and reliability estimates for the subscales ranged from 0.08 to 0.56. Due to the small number of items for each subscale, the Guttman Scale for reliability determined the subscales of the WRCDS was low.

While recognizing the WRCDS was developed during a preliminary study, and before the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) was available, Choney and Rowe (1994) compared the WRIAS (or as the authors describe it, the RIAS-W) and the WRCDS. Choney and Rowe (1994) administered the WRIAS and WRCDS to 225 participants, which included 151 women and 72 men ranging from 18 to 42 years, and all of whom identified as White. For the WRCDS, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient ranged from 0.13 to 0.55, and for the WRIAS, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient ranged from 0.54 to 0.80. Given their analysis, Choney and Rowe ultimately conclude the WRCDS is invalid due to low scale reliabilities and low correlations with the WRIAS and cautioned researchers from using the 15-item WRCDS in the future.

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990)

Helms and Carter's (1990) White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) is a 50-item self-report scale that utilizes a five-point Likert scale anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 5 (*strongly agree*). The scale is adapted from Helms' (1984) White racial identity development model (WRIDM) which includes five stages, contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy. According to Helms and Carter (1990), the WRIAS was derived from Helms' (1984) White racial identity development model. Each of the five subscales represent one of the five stages in Helms' (1984) model and each stage is measured by 10 items.

Using a pilot study, a minimum of 0.3 item-total subscale correlation was found for each item and none of the items correlated with Crowne and Marlowe's (1964) Social Desirability scale. Three reliability studies were also conducted on the WRIAS. The first consisted of 350 participants, the second 506 participants, and the third 176 participants. In these reliability studies, each subscale exceeded the median reliability coefficient of 0.54 (Helms & Carter, 1990). Helms and Carter further suggested they demonstrated content validity by comparing the

WRIDM, on which the WRIAS is based, to other White racial identity theories. Helms and Carter found similarities between the theories, chief among them parallels with stages related to her Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy stages. However, in contrast to other theories, Helms and Carter noted that their scale does not emphasize the measurement of racism like other models such as Hardiman (1979).

Helms and Carter (1990) determined construct validity by investigating patterns of correlations among the WRIAS subscales and criterion validity by comparing the WRIAS with measures of other personality constructs. Helms and Carter also conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) on the sample of data collected from 506 participants. They reported the internal consistency coefficient or Cronbach's alpha for each subscale ranged from 0.55 to 0.80. Initially, Helms' analysis found 11 factors, and with the exception of one item, all items loaded significantly on at least one factor. Helms and Carter concluded, "The patterns of factor loading suggest that White identity development is complex and many of the items seem to be assessing multidimensional White racial identity" (1990, p. 80).

Criticisms of The WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990). Although Helms and Carter's (1990) WRIAS is the most widely used scale for White racial identity development with applications in psychological research, practice, and education, there has been some doubt about its validity (Behrens, 1997; Choney & Rowe, 1994; Helms, 1997; Helms & Carter, 1990). In 1997, Behrens published an article suggesting the WRIAS did not measure the five stages of development from Helms' WRIDM. In completing a meta-analysis of 43 studies utilizing the WRIAS and their own confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), Behrens (1997) concluded, "The results of this multimethod study provide converging evidence that the WRIAS has a more parsimonious structure that the model of [White racial identity] WRI proposes" (p. 10).

Helms (1997) responded to Behrens's (1997) article and criticized their interpretation of WRIDM and methodology for assessing the construct validity of the WRIAS. Helms (1997) stated, "In sum, I could find no evidence that Behrens attended to any of the foregoing theory-related measurement issues in his investigations" (p. 15), but did not entirely dismiss that Behrens and the previous 43 studies might suggest that "fewer than five factors describe the overlap among WRIAS items" (p. 15). Helms (1997) also went on to refer to R. Rowe and Hill's (1992) article which criticized the introduction of White racial identity development in cross-cultural counselor training referring to White racial identity as "premature" (R. Rowe & Hill, 1992, p. 189) and "uncertain" (R. Rowe & Hill, 1992, p. 189). R. Rowe and Hill (1992) argued, "The problem is the model presented is not supported by a logical/rational analysis or by any empirical evidence" (p. 189) and "Unfortunately, the empirical evidence supporting Helms (1990) White model is no more than suggestive at this time" (p. 190). To this, Helms (1997) concluded her response to Beheren (1997) and disclosed hope by saying, "Actually, it is encouraging to observe that the level of discussion has moved beyond whether White racial identity exists to how best to measure the relevant constructs" (p. 15). Behrens and Rowe (1997) then published an article replying to Helms (1997) and maintaining their analysis and criticism of the WRIAS hold.

Previous researchers have also criticized the validity and reliability of the WRIAS. For example, Tokar and Swanson (1991) suggested that the Disintegration and Reintegration subscales and the Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy subscales did not appear to measure independent constructs. Further, Ottavi et al. (1994) reported the contact subscale had poor reliability due to low Cronbach's alpha coefficients. Multiple researchers including Alexander (1992), S. K. Bennett et al. (1993), and Pope-Davis et al. (1999) conducted confirmatory factor

analyses (CFA), which yielded invalid and questionable results about the WRIAS' factor structure.

In 1994, S. K Rowe et al. discussed three perceived weaknesses of the WRIAS. First, the theory was adapted from identity development models of Black persons who experience their race differently from White persons. Second, S. K. Rowe et al. (1994) stated the title of White racial identity models (WRID) is a "misnomer" (p. 131) as they argued the model describes White racial attitude development which is different from identity development. Third, S. K. Rowe et al. also criticized the WRID as a developmental stage model because it imposes a linear succession of stages with "ordered levels of desirability" (1994, p. 132) and question Helms and Carter's (1990) suggestion that individuals might regress in the WRIAS or skip a stage. They stated, "However, if so many exceptions are explainable, covering forward, backward, or no progression across stages, the utility of conceptualizing the process as a developmental stagewise progression must be questioned" (S. K. Rowe et al., 1994, p. 132). Finally, S. K. Rowe et al. also criticized the generalizability of the WRID and suggested the model should be expanded beyond Black and White racial categories.

Given these perceived limitations of the WRIAS, S. K. Rowe et al. (1994) introduced their own conceptualization of White racial consciousness, which is defined as "one's awareness of being White and what that implies in relation to those who do not share White group membership" (1994, pp. 133–134). S. K. Rowe et al. developed their theory using Phinney's (1989) stages of ethnic identity and Marcia's (1980) ego identity statuses. Their model includes two statuses, the unachieved White racial consciousness and achieved white racial consciousness, each with different attitudes. The unachieved White racial consciousness includes the attitudes of avoidant type, dependent type, and dissonant type. The achieved white racial

consciousness includes the dominative type, conflictive type, reactive type, and integrative type. S. K. Rowe et al. (1994) noted there are similarities between the types of White racial consciousness they proposed and the stages of the WRID model and suggested movement from one status or White racial consciousness type to the next is not due to a developmental sequence, "but a variable consequence of life experiences" (p. 142).

In 1999, Helms presented her own meta-analysis of 38 studies of the WRIAS and compared their internal consistency coefficients. Helms found the WRIAS to demonstrate construct and criterion validity and suggests previously criticized subscales in fact measure independent constructs. She summarized that systematic errors might explain why some authors concluded the WRIAS has poor validity and stated, "The results of this study were consistent with those that have found researchers negligent in reporting sufficient psychometric information about scales" (Helms, 1999, p. 131). Despite criticism of the WRIAS, it is the only scale that is based on a specific identity development theory. Furthermore, Helms' work continues to be influential in psychological research and education and critical to the progression of the field.

The Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale (APOS; Montross, 2003)

Montross's Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale (APOS) is a 50-item self-report survey that uses a 4-point Likert scale anchored 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 4 (*strongly agree*). In assessing various multicultural competency measures, Montross recognized the need for a scale that assesses for both people's understanding of societal oppression (i.e., various isms) and understanding of privilege within multicultural psychology. In their study, Montross constructed items that reflected four main areas of privilege and oppression in American society: race, socioeconomic status, gender, and sexual orientation. Each of these areas form their own

subscales and scores represent an individual's racial awareness, socioeconomic status awareness, gender awareness, and sexual orientation awareness of privilege and oppression.

Items were constructed based on themes from statements made in diversity workshops and written by experts on multicultural psychology. In addition, Montross adapted McIntosh's (1988) White privilege statements. Montross administered their initial set of items to 390 participants from two discrepant groups, 133 of whom were psychologists attending a multicultural conference, and 257 of whom were undergraduate students.

The purpose of Montross's (2003) study was to propose a preliminary awareness of privilege and oppression scale, thus the author does not provide validity or reliability data but provides discriminant and convergent validity. The second sample of students were administered both the APOS and the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence et al., 1973) and their two scores were compared to help determine convergent validity. Montross found a correlation of 0.87 between the two measures. Montross additionally performed an independent sample t-test on the psychologist sample of participants and an EFA on the student sample of participants. EFA confirmed four factors: sexual orientation, race, socioeconomic status, and gender. Internal consistency for subscales ranged from 0.456 to 0.748 and the Cronbach's alpha for the entire APOS was 0.828 for all 50 items.

Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004)

The Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW) scale (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) is a 36-item self-report measure utilizing a 6-point Likert-scale anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) and (*strongly agree*). Lower scores suggest a lower experience of the psychosocial costs to racism while higher scorers suggest a higher experience of the psychosocial costs. In 1996, Kivel began to conceptualize "The costs of racism to White people." These costs ranged

from loss of culture, a distortion and inaccurate impression of American history and politics, loss of and strain on relationships, distortion of danger and safety, damage to moral integrity, and lowered self-esteem as well as pessimistic outlooks (Kivel, 2011).

In 2011, D. J. Goodman also discussed the cost of oppression on privileged persons such as negative impacts on mental health, relationships, moral and spiritual integrity, and physical resources such as safety and quality of life. While there has been increasing investigation about the process for White racial identity development, Spanierman and Heppner (2004) were inspired by Bowser and Hunt's (1981/1996) seminal work exploring the impact of racism on White Americans, as well as Kivel (1996) and D. J. Goodman (2015). Spanierman and Heppner (2004) were curious about the negative effects of racism to White persons. They proposed that the costs of racism to Whites could be described as affective, cognitive, or behavioral and can be both acknowledged or unacknowledged.

Affective costs include increased anxiety or fear toward Black men and fear of losing privilege as well as anger, sadness, helplessness, guilt, shame, and apathy. Cognitive costs include behavioral cognitive distortions about self, others, and the world. Further, depending on a White person's levels of racial awareness, these cognitive costs can manifest differently. Behavioral costs "are defined as restrictions or limitations one's behavior that may be expressed as avoiding racial situations" (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004, p. 251). When an individual is less racially aware, this might include behavioral limitations in relationships with BIPOC, but when they are more racially aware, White people might feel limited in their relationships with other White people who do not share the same level of awareness.

For item construction, Spanierman (2003) initially created 39 preliminary items which was then reduced to 36-items and one validity item. Spanierman and Heppner (2004) conducted

two studies. Their first sample included 361 White undergraduate students, and their EFA resulted in a three affective-focused factor structure and 16-item measure. Factor 1, Empathic Reactions Toward Racism, was comprised of 6 items. Factor 2, White guilt, included 5 items, and factor 3, White Fear of Others, was comprised of 5 items. Factor intercorrelations suggested a significant negative correlation between White Fear of Others and White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism. There was also a significant positive correlation between White Guilt and White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism. Internal consistency estimates using Cronbach's coefficient alpha were 0.78 for White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism, 0.73 for White Guilt, and 0.63 for White Fear of Others.

In their second study, Spanierman and Hepner (2004) conducted a CFA with a sample of 366 White undergraduate students. Coefficient alphas for White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism was 0.79, White Guilt was 0.7, and White Fear of Others was 0.69. Finally, Spanierman and Heppner also used the test-retest method of reliability and re-tested 35 of the 366 participants from the second sample. Results indicated the stability coefficients for all factors ranged from slightly below satisfactory to high. Internal consistency coefficients ranged from 0.78 to 0.85 for all three factors.

Overall, Spanierman and Heppner (2004) found the PCRW is a valid and reliable measure for the psychosocial costs of racism to Whites and additional studies examining the psychometric properties of the PCRW have since been conducted. Poteat and Spanierman (2008) tested the generalizability of the PCRW beyond Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) original undergraduate student sample. Poteat and Spanierman (2008) found psychometric support for the assessment of White Empathy and White fear among an adult sample of 284 participants ranging from age 19 to age 82 years, but results regarding White guilt were inconclusive. Sifford and

colleague's (2009) study also supported the PCRW's three-factor model and found convergent validity.

The Privilege and Oppression Inventory (POI; D. G. Hays et al., 2007)

D. G. Hays and colleagues' (2007) Privilege and Oppression Inventory (POI) is a 39-item self-report scale that utilizes a 6-point Likert scale anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 5 (*strongly disagree*). The POI measures the construct of privilege and oppression awareness for four social identity domains, race, gender, sexual orientation, and religion/spirituality. These social identity domains were chosen because they were most prominently reflected within the researchers' literature review. The POI provides a total score on four subscales and lower scores indicate a lower level of awareness.

D. G. Hays et al. (2007) approached item construction in two phases. In the first phase, the researchers created an initial pool of 107 items using previous multicultural competency scales and an extensive literature review. After administering initial items to 10 volunteer participants, item development resulted in an 82-item POI. The second phase involved factor analysis and tests for reliability and validity. D. G. Hays et al. (2007) recruited two samples, one for exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and one for confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). The researchers used convenience sampling and the participants were recruited from seven or eight counselling programs. The first study consisted of 428 counseling students and trainees while the second study consisted of 206 counseling students and trainees and each sample represented a wide variety of demographics. The EFA resulted in a four factor structure: White privilege awareness, heterosexism awareness, Christian privilege awareness, and Sexism awareness. The EFA also informed which items to retain and or remove and the POI was revised as a 39-item

measure. The CFA demonstrated internal consistency of 0.95 for the whole measure and Cronbach's alpha for subscales ranged from 0.56 to 0.92. D. G. Hays et al. then used the test-retest methodology and administered the 39-item POI to 107 participants from the first sample of participants. The data indicated a statistically significant relationship between the participants' mean scores.

D. G. Hays et al. (2007) determined convergent validity as the revised 39-item POI demonstrated statistically significant positive correlations with the M-GUDS-S (Fuertes et al., 2000) and the QDI (Ponterotto et al., 1995; Ponterotto et al., 2002) which measure similar constructs. Cross-validation indicated the POI is positively related to "(a) greater comfort and acceptance of cultural similarities and differences and (b) greater comfort and more positive attitudes toward racial and gender equity" (D. G. Hays et al., 2007, p. 77). In addition, the POI is negatively correlated with social desirability, which was assessed using the MCSDS (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).

The Social Privilege Measure (SPM; Black et al., 2007)

Black and colleagues' (2007) SPM is a 25 item self-report scale that utilizes a 5-point Likert scale anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 5 (*strongly agree*) that measures the construct of White racial privilege. The SPM provides a total score on five subscales which are personal credibility, visibility, penalty, environmental predictability, and protection, which describe the full construct of racial privilege. Personal credibility is characterized by the belief that one will be evaluated by their merit and not by their race. Black et al. explained, "The belief that one is solely evaluated by one's character or merit is the gift of privilege, which is rooted in historic White supremacy" (p. 29). Visibility is characterized by positive representation of an individual's race in the dominant culture and also includes experiences related to "power and

access" (Black et al., 2007, p. 29). Penalty captured experiences of oppression in which individuals were treated unfairly or penalized for their race. Environmental predictability captured an individual's experience of safety within society, and protection describes the physical and psychological protection afforded to White persons.

Black and colleagues' (2007) initial pool of 76 items was created by an extensive literature review. The finalized items were administered to a sample of 358 undergraduate and graduate students with varying demographics. EFA resulted in a five-factor structure 34-items. Item analysis yielded a Cronbach's alpha reliability estimate of 0.95 for the total scale. Item analysis also indicated a coefficient alpha for the subscales: 0.94 for personal credibility, 0.71 for Visibility, 0.74 for Penalty, 0.70 for Environmental Predictability, and 0.73 for Protection (Black et al., 2007).

Black and colleagues' (2007) conducted a second study on a sample of 297 graduate students pursuing psychology related degrees. Black et al. (2007) conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) which indicated statistically significant factor loadings. The five-factors of the SPM and correlation coefficients ranged from 06. to 0.88, suggesting all five factors were highly correlated. The Cronbach's alpha for the 25-item SPM was 0.92 with subscale reliability estimates ranging from 0.85 to 0.61.

The Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale 2 (APOS-2; McClellan, 2014)

McClellan's (2014) APOS-2 is a 40-item self-report measure that utilizes a 6-point Likert-scale anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 6 (*strongly agree*). Like the Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale (APOS; Montross, 2003), the APOS-2 is intended to assess levels of awareness for privilege and oppression in the categories of racism, sexism, heterosexism, and classism. McClellan examined the psychometric validity of the APOS

(Montross, 2003) and determined several limitations. For example, while the total Cronbach alpha coefficient reliability score is greater than Nunnally and Bernstein's (1994) recommendation of 0.8, the APOS's factor loading cut off score for some items were less than W. A. Scott's (1968) recommendation of 0.30. Given the lower reliability estimates for the APOS subscale items, McClellan argued this might hinder the instrument's efficacy for diversity and social justice training and course evaluation.

In his empirically-based revision of the APOS (Montross, 2003), McClellan (2014) first conducted an extensive literature review and proposed new items. McClellan also created new items using a focus group of experts on the topics of social justice and diversity training, and eliminated APOS items with factor loading coefficients below 0.30. Using a combined sample of 484 undergraduate students with varying demographics, EFA resulted in a four-factor solution and 40-item measure. The internal consistency estimate of the APOS-2 was 0.94 and Cronbach's alpha for the four subscales of awareness of racism, awareness of heterosexism, and awareness of sexism, and awareness of classism ranged from 0.76 to 0.88, item-total correlations ranged from 0.20 to 0.62, and the mean item-correlation was 0.46.

The Critical Consciousness Scale (CCS; Diemer et al., 2017)

Originally developed by Freire (1974/2013), the concept of critical consciousness (CC) is defined by Diemer et al. (2017) as "the capacity of oppressed or marginalized people to critically analyze their social and political conditions, endorsement of societal equality, and action to change in perceived inequities" (p. 451). CC has been associated with various positive outcomes for oppressed persons including improved mental health, occupational outcomes, and a tendency toward community organization and change. Although CC is suggestive of positive outcomes for

marginalized groups, Diemer et al. recognized inconsistent conceptualizations and measurements of CC within the current literature.

The Critical Consciousness Scale (CCS) is a 22-item self-report measure. They found the construct of CC was composed of two components, critical reflection, and critical action. Thus, for critical reflection items, participants rated their responses to items on a 6-point Likert scale anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 6 (*strongly agree*). For critical action items, participants rated their responses to items on a 5-point behavioral frequency scale anchored in 1 (*never did this*) this and 5 (*at least once a week*). Diemer et al. (2017) conducted two studies with a combined sample of 363 high school students. Given that scale validation literature suggests conducting both exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the same items, but with two different samples (DeVellis, 2003; Diemer et al., 2017; R. Worthington & Whittaker, 2006), Diemer et al. split their sample in half such that the first study consisted of 163 participants and the second study also consisted of 163 participants.

In their first study, Diermer et al. (2017) conducted an EFA which resulted in a three-factor structure with 22 items. The first factor, critical reflection: perceived inequality, included eight items, the second factor, critical reflection: egalitarianism, consisted of five items, and the third factor, critical action: sociopolitical participation, included nine items. Diemer et al. determined the three factors and subscales were internally consistent and measured independent constructs related to critical consciousness (CC). Internal consistency for subscales ranged from 0.85 to 0.90. In their second study, Diemer et al. (2017) completed a CFA on the second sample of participants to further assess the underlying factor structure of the CCS. The CFA confirmed model fit and “All variables significantly loaded onto the same factor in the CFA as they had in

the EFA, which provides psychometric support for the CCS and its factor structure" (Diemer et al., 2017, p. 473).

The White Racial Affect Scale (WRAS; Grzanka et al., 2020)

Grzanka and colleagues' (2020) White Racial Affect Scale (WRAS) is an 18-item scale anchored in 1 (*not likely*) and 5 (*very likely*) and measures proneness to White racial affects; specifically, White guilt, White shame, and negation. Grzanka et al. found current literature does not adequately distinguish between White guilt and White shame, and the two constructs are often conflated in measures such as Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale. These limitations indicated the need for a new measure that captured the full spectrum of negative affect for White people. Grzanka et al. (2020) created items that represented scenarios that could evoke negative emotions and conducted three studies.

The first study used a sample of 260 White undergraduate students, and Grzanka et al. performed an EFA on the data which demonstrated a 3-factor solution. The first factor, White Guilt, is described as "the negative, self-conscious emotion White people may feel about behaviors or attitudes as well as contemporary or historical injustices perceived as racist" (Grzanka et al., 2020, p. 54). The first factor consisted of seven items and a Cronbach's alpha of 0. 79. The second factor, Negation, represents externalization strategies to place blame on others or avoid experiences of guilt and shame. The second factor consisted of seven items and a Cronbach's alpha of 0.71. The third factor, White Shame, is described as "disdain for one's racial identity" (Grzanka et al., 2020, p. 60), which consisted of four items and a Cronbach's alpha of 0.7.

In their second study, Grzanka et al. (2020) performed a CFA with 309 undergraduate students. Results indicated a 3-factor model was the best fit and internal consistency measured

by Cronbach's alpha was 0.79 for White Guilt, 0.67 for White Shame, and 0.67 for Negation. In the third study, Grzanka et al. investigated the test-retest reliability of the 18-item WRAS by recruiting a sample of 38 undergraduate students from the second study. The researchers found test-retest reliability was high for all three subscales. Overall, the WRAS demonstrated validity and reliability and results suggested "Participants who were prone to negate White guilt and shame (on the WRAS) were more likely to exhibit racist attitudes and less likely to experience White guilt" (Grzanka et al., 2020, p. 64).

Comparison of Social Privilege Integration Scales

Multiple instruments measuring constructs related to social privilege integration (SPI) have significantly advanced the psychological field's understanding of SPI as well as how to best capture and quantitatively account for the construct. Many of these measures present multiple strengths, particularly with regards to innovation and psychometric rigor. However, despite the validity and reliability of many of the measures, there are several limitations of the instruments that must be considered for this project. These limitations include: one, a restrictive and narrow construct, two, a limited approach to item construction, and three, exclusion of developmental affective experience or transformative process.

Restrictive and Narrow Constructs

First, each instrument defines and measures a construct that is too narrow or restrictive for the current project. For example, the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) measures the construct of White racial identity development while the WRCDS (Claney & Parker, 1989) measures White racial consciousness development. Although SPI is related to 10 social identity domains, including racial identity, (Bergkamp et al., 2020; P. A. Hays, 2008, 2016) and the experiences of identity development and consciousness development, the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) and

WRCDS (Claney & Parker, 1989) do not adequately capture the construct of SPI. The PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) and WRAS (Grzanka et al., 2020) measure the constructs of racist attitudes and negative White affect, respectively; and while the awareness of isms is also inherent in SPI, it does not fully describe the full construct. By focusing on the awareness, identity development, or attitudes of on privileged identity domain, these scales narrow their focus to privilege awareness and not the full concept of social privilege awareness.

D. G. Hays and colleagues' (2007) POI, Montross's (2003) APOS, and McClellan's (2014) APOS-2 are closer in capturing SPI, but their instruments measure awareness of both privilege and oppression. Further, the instruments capture a facet of social privilege as the POI (D. G. Hays et al., 2007) evaluates racism, heterosexism, Christian, and Sexism awareness, and the APOS (Montross, 2003) and APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014) evaluates awareness of privilege and oppression for race, gender, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status.

Black and colleagues' (2007) SPM is similar to the current project in that it is also informed by Black and Stone's (2005) definition of SPM. However, although Black et al. (2007) acknowledged that social privilege stems from multiple social identity domains, "In an attempt to isolate the nature and structure of this construct, racial privilege was selected as the initial focus for this study" (2007, p. 19). The SPM, therefore, ultimately focuses on a singular component of SPI, White privilege awareness.

Diemer and colleagues' (2017) CCS offers insight into the development of critical awareness, however, the construct represents the critical awareness of oppressed persons. Although the developmental experience of critical awareness for targets likely shares similarities with agents, especially since both groups exist within the same system of power, privilege, and

oppression, the current project believes the two processes cannot be confounded. Thus, the CCS does not adequately capture the development of SPI.

Limited Approach to Item Construction

The second limitation of existing measures corresponds to the issue of item construction. The current literature suggests that with the exception of the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990), which was modeled after the WRIDM (Helms, 1984), and the APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014), which utilized a focus group, the primary methodology for item development consists of focus groups and literature reviews, and is not informed by an existing model of social privilege integration. While this does not appear to have affected the psychometric integrity of the instruments, the items might not accurately capture the full human experience of SPI development because items were created deductively or a priori.

Developmental Affective Experience or Transformative Process

Third, existing measures do not encapsulate the integration of SPI or the affective developmental experience and self-transformation inherent in SPI. Instruments such as the POI (D. G. Hays et al., 2007), SPM (Black et al., 2007), and APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014) all suggested that greater scores imply greater awareness of social privilege. Conversely, the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) specify that lower scores imply less racist attitudes than higher scores. The scoring mechanism of each measure indicates developmental theory, or a process of growth and change, is an integral aspect of the instruments. However, each measure relies heavily on the assumption that SPI development is the mere accumulation of knowledge and understanding of the fact of social privilege.

Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) PCRW and Grzanka and colleagues' (2020) WRAS demonstrate that affective experiences are an integral part of anti-racist identity development.

Similarly, Wise and Case (2013) and Bergkamp et al. (2020) have established that SPI also includes a development of affective experiences and transformation of personal identity. In their model, Bergkamp et al. (2020) asserted individuals require a cognitive framework to help facilitate SPI development. The need for a cognitive framework can be likened to the process of accumulating knowledge and understanding of SPI to which the POI (D. G. Hays et al., 2007), SPM (Black et al., 2007), and McClellan (2014) suggest. However, Bergkamp et al. (2020) and Wise and Case (2013) also described disturbing affective experiences that parallel the growth of knowledge such as defensiveness, shame, guilt, anger, fear, sadness, and hopelessness. These emotional experiences seem essential to SPI development, but are absent in the existing instruments and thus critical to capture in the proposed measure.

Although developmental theory is implied in the existing measures, they do not appear to explicitly depict the transformative nature of SPI development. In their Grounded Theory study, Bergkamp et al. (2020) indicated that as individuals develop SPI, they also begin to transform as individuals. Participants described questioning their sense of self as well as their relationship to the world and others, ultimately resulting in a renewed identity narrative. While Helms' (1984) WRIDM and WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) also appeared to capture the transformative nature of White racial identity development, this transformative experience is not currently expressed in other existing SPI instruments. The current project thus aims to include the self-transformative nature of SPI in the proposed measure.

Other Social Privilege Integration Literature, Models, and Measures

Many of the reviewed models and measures of social privilege integration focus specifically on White privilege including the White racial identity development model (WRIDM; Helms, 1984), White Racial Consciousness Scale (WRCDS; Claney & Parker, 1989), White

Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990), Psychosocial Costs to Whites (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and White Racial Affect Scale (WRAS; Grzanka et al., 2020). In their systematic review, Schooley et al. (2019) identified 25 instruments measuring the construct of Whiteness which represents a greater number of instruments compared to other privileged identity domains.

The larger number of scales and measures focused on White privilege is no surprise. As Helms (2017) suggested, racism is at the root of American oppression and has been codified and entwined with other forms of oppression such as classism and sexism. Racism overwhelmingly represents the oppressive underbelly of American society; the extensive study of White privilege is, therefore, necessary. However, as intersectional theory has demonstrated, the study of White privilege does not and cannot provide the full picture of power, privilege, and oppression in the United States (Case, 2017; Crenshaw, 1989). This section will briefly review the existing literature for privileged social identity domains other than White privilege for race/ethnicity identity.

Male Privilege

Current models and measures of social privilege integration in social identity domains other than race and ethnicity remain limited. These privileged identity domains include those identified in P. A. Hays's (2016) ADDRESSING model: age (18 years to 64 years), being able-bodied, Christian identity, higher socioeconomic status, non-indigenous identity, U.S. national identity and citizenship, and cis-gender and male identity. In comparison to the 25 instruments measuring Whiteness identified by Schooley et al. (2019), and based on query on all EBSCOhost databases on July 27, 2020, there is currently one measure about male privilege, the

Male Privilege Awareness Measure (MPA), which was developed by Case (2007) to help reduce sexism and evaluate a diversity course.

The history of psychology is riddled with gender discrimination and sexism. Terms such as "hysteria," which refers to heightened emotionality and states of neurosis, stigmatized women's mental health, the effects of which continue to carry over in diagnoses such as Borderline Personality Disorder, Histrionic Personality Disorder, and Dependent Personality Disorder (Boggs et al., 2005; Jane et al., 2015). Women have also been used as sociocultural and political scapegoats; American author and actress' book about mothers and motherhood titled, *If It's Not One Thing, It's Your Mother*, colloquially refers to the Freudian joke that all problems originate from one's relationship with their mother. Examples of this can be found in previous psychological research. In his 1946 article, "Motherhood and Momism—Effect on the Nation," psychiatrist Edward Strecker blamed mothers' inability to let their sons individuate as the reason approximately 495,000 men were "draft dodgers" (p. 61) during World War II (WWII).

Despite women's history of oppression, feminist psychology is only a recent movement. The term feminist psychology was first created by Karen Horney, a German psychoanalyst, in her book *Feminine Psychology*, which was published in 1967 and in which she challenged sexist psychoanalytic misconceptions about women at the time. While first wave feminism during the 19th and 20th century was primarily focused on women's right to vote, second wave feminism took place between the 1960s and 1980s and centered around equality and discrimination (Humm, 1990; LeGates, 2001). Due to the APA's lack of support in and response to the Women's Liberation Movement, the Association for Women in Psychology (AWP) was established in 1969, and the APA Division 35, the Society for the Psychology of Women, was created in 1973 (Association for Women in Psychology, n.d.).

However, despite the emergence of feminist psychology, the first theoretical perspective which accounted for gender and power differences within therapy, there is an alarming lack of research about male privilege. As with other social identity domains, when it comes to gender, psychology has emphasized the experiences of oppression while ignoring the experiences of power and privilege. On July 27, 2020, a quick search of all EBSCOhost databases, using the search term "male privilege awareness" restricted to the title of publications yielded zero results. However, after Spence et al. published the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) in 1973, a brief movement to measure and assess sexism appeared in the 1990s. Swim et al. established the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale (OFSS) and the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS) in 1995, and Glick and Fiske differentiated hostile sexism and ambivalent sexism and created the widely cited Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) in 1996.

Inspired by Helms' (1984) White racial identity development model, D. A. Scott and Robinson published "White Male Identity Development: The Key Model" in 2001. The key model describes White male identity development in five progressive stages, noncontact type, claustrophobic type, conscious identity type, empirical type, and optimal type with the last stage representing an individual with "an increased knowledge of race and gender relations and the roles they play" (D. A. Scott & Robinson, 2001, p. 420). Later, in 2007, Case developed the Male Privilege Awareness (MPA) measure, a 7-item scale created specifically for a study to evaluate the efficacy of diversity courses in raising male privilege awareness and reducing sexism. Instruments including the APOS (Montross, 2003), the POI (D. G. Hays et al., 2007), and the APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014), also measure sexism awareness as subscales for privilege awareness. No measures appear to exist about cisgender privilege or transgender discrimination.

Socioeconomic Privilege

Privilege within the social identity domain of socioeconomic status (SES) has not been as extensively researched as racial privilege or gender privilege (Case, 2013). However, in 2007, recognizing the significance of SES, the APA Task Force on Socioeconomic Status published a report highlighting the tremendous influence of material inequality and classism in the field and practice of psychology. The report suggested disagreements about the conceptualization of SES; however, "the fundamental conceptualization [of SES] involves access to resources" (APA, 2007, p. 5) and is typically related to education, occupation, and income (APA, 2007; P. A. Hays, 2016). The APA highlighted how income disparity, unemployment, underemployment, housing insecurity, limited access to healthcare, limited access to education, and SES discrimination contribute to higher rates of mental health and physical problems among lower SES individuals and fewer opportunities for communities.

The APA's 2007 report also discussed social class "as a form of social and political dominance that allows some groups (e.g., political elites, corporate owners) to prosper at the expense of others (e.g., workers)" (p. 6). Thus, social class does not simply refer to differential access to resources, but also "the structural re-creation of privilege and the fusion of wealth and power, particularly in capitalist societies" (APA, 2007, p. 6). Within SES, much of the current literature focuses on oppression, and this might be largely due to the dominant cultural beliefs about meritocracy; the belief that the world is just and fair and upward mobility is possible solely through hard work, talent, and merit, which can render inequity and inequality invisible (Bergkamp et al., 2020; Williams & Melchiori, 2013). Williams and Melchiori (2013) stated, "Although researchers call for increased attention to social class and economic inequality, specific pedagogical strategies for examining social class privilege within college classrooms

remain rare" (p. 169). In addition, the undeniable intersectionality of SES and other social identity domains, especially race and ethnicity, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and age complicate the study of economic privilege (Case, 2017).

Discussions about social class and classism encourage conversations to encompass both interpersonal and systemic forms of economic oppression and privilege, yet research specifically about economic privilege remains limited. Nonetheless, Liu (2013) examined the interdependent nature of social class and classism, and spotlighted the primary benefit of economic privilege; "the protection from consequences" (p. 5). According to Liu, economic privilege protects from environmental and contextual consequences, consequences of one's own behaviors and attitudes, (e.g., being given the benefit of the doubt), and protection against assaults to cultural identity. Liu additionally asserted that while economic privilege operates much like any other privilege from an alternative social identity domain (i.e., race, gender, etc.), "What is unique about economic privilege is that people have access to a semblance of it" (p. 6). In other words, whereas a Black man can never change from having a target rank to an agent rank in the domain of race and ethnicity, a person in poverty can potentially (although with extreme challenges and barriers) gain economic wealth and, therefore, become an agent in the domain of SES.

Reflecting the limited literature on socioeconomic privilege, a search of models or measures about SES privilege or awareness yields meager results. On July 24, 2020, two searches about SES privilege models or measures on six EBSCOhost (2020) databases (APA PsycInfo, Academic Search Complete, SocINDEX, Education Research Complete, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection, and Sociological Collection) yielded 20 results and 17 results, respectively. Only one scale was found, which includes the Privilege and Oppression

Inventory (POI; D. G. Hays et al., 2007), and measures classism and class privilege as a subscale.

Heterosexual Privilege

Much like sexism, homophobia and sexual discrimination have been present throughout the history of psychology, especially with regards to mental health diagnoses. Only in 1974 did the APA remove homosexuality from the diagnostic manual as a formal mental health diagnosis and pathology (Drescher, 2015). Sexual minorities can also be exposed to more severe forms of discrimination that lead to higher levels of depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation (Owen et al., 2019). Stigma against LGBTQ+ persons have also deepened in the United States with the HIV/AIDS health crisis and related conspiracy theories. Hutchinson et al. (2007) found among a convenience sample of men who have sex with men (MSM), 86% believed one or more of the conspiracy theories in the survey. Fahs and McClelland (2016) noted "Gay men have had to endure numerous moralizing assaults and accusations of 'deviance' stemming from the HIV epidemic, with newer concerns arising about online hookup practices and their implications for public health, pleasure, and risk" (p. 404). The effects of intersectionality can be further seen as LGBTQ BIPOC and minority gender individuals receive less attention in HIV research and increased rates of sexual violence (Fahs & McClelland). In comparison, straight and heterosexual men appear to escape accountability about STI prevention and sexually responsible practices (Broaddus et al., 2010).

Similar to other social identity domains, psychological research has focused disproportionate effort on LGBTQ+ oppression compared to heterosexual privilege and the detrimental impact of heteronormative power and culture. This hegemony is reflected in the number and type of scales that have been developed for sexual identity. A search on July 26,

2020, in all EBSCOhost databases using search terms which include “heterosexual privilege” OR “straight privilege” OR “sexual identity privilege” OR “sexuality privilege” OR ‘heteronormative privilege” OR “sexual orientation privilege” and key words associated with scales yielded eight articles and two measures. These measures included the Evasive Attitudes Toward Sexual Orientation Scale (EASOS) by Brownfield et al. (2018) and the Attitudes Towards Heterosexuals Scale (ATHS) by Vaughn and Teeters (2015), which was informed by Helms & Carter’s WRIAS (1990). An additional review identified the Heterosexual Privilege Awareness Scale (HPAS), a 7-item scale by Case and Stewart (2010) that has not been published and was specifically created for a study measuring the efficacy of diversity courses.

In contrast a search using terms related to homophobia or “sexual discrimination” and scales limited to the title of peer-reviewed articles yielded 391 results. There are a number of studies utilizing instruments which measure homophobic attitudes including the Index of Homophobia (IHP; Hudson & Ricketts, 1980) as well as the Attitudes Toward Lesbians (ATL) and Attitudes Towards Gay Men (ATG; collectively known as the ATLG; Herek, 1998), and the Homophobia, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Knowledge and Attitudes Scale of Heterosexuals (LGB-KASH; R. L. Worthington et al., 2005). A systematic review by Grey et al. in 2013 determined there were 17 scales assessing either general homophobia or specific attitudes toward LGBTQ+ groups and six scales measuring internalized homophobic attitudes.

Able-Bodied Privilege

Given psychology’s development of the Diagnostic Manual and different types of mental health diagnoses and disorders, there is a distressing lack of psychological research about able-bodied privilege in the United States. A search in all EBSCOhost databases without limitations using the terms “able-bodied privilege” and “able-body privilege” yielded seven

results across all academic databases. A similar unrestricted search using the terms “ableism” yielded 3,284 results. Additionally, there are no current measures or models of able-bodied privilege awareness.

The number of people who identify themselves as having a disability continues to expand. In 2020, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) identified that there were 61 million American adults living with a disability and approximately one in four Americans have a disability of some kind (CDC, 2019). The CDC found that of the different types of functional disabilities, 13.7% were disability of mobility, 10.8% were disability of cognition, 6.8% were disability related to independent living, 5.9% related to hearing, 4.6% related to vision, and 3.7% included a disability that related to difficulties with self-care.

Although having a mental illness does not necessarily equate to having a disability, the number of people with mental health concerns and challenges is overwhelming in the United States. According to the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), approximately one fifth of American adults (51.5 million in 2019) have a mental illness. Highlighting the importance of an intersectional lens, the NIMH found that rates of mental illness were higher among women (24.5%) compared to men (16.3%), higher among young adults aged 18–25 years (29.4%) than older adults aged 26–49 years (25.0%) and 50 years and older (14.1%; NIMH, 2021). While many different types of mental health diagnoses can be a source of significant distress and functional impairment, “Schizophrenia is one of the top 15 leading causes of disability worldwide” (NIMH, 2018, para. 5).

One of the few articles about able-bodied privilege, “Women with Disabilities: The Cultural Context of Disability, Feminism, Able-Bodied Privilege, and Microaggressions” written by Palombi (2012), appears in a feminist multicultural counselling psychology handbook.

Palombi provides a definition of ableism and states that "Ableism is a set of beliefs, process, and practices, based on ability that influences the understanding of the self, the body, relationships with others and determines how others judge the individual" (2018, p. 202). Palombi asserted American culture has a preference for specific types of abilities and values some abilities while simultaneously devaluing others, creating a dogma that "impairment is inherently negative" (2012, p. 202). Similar to other types of privilege, Palombi also discussed how ableist beliefs are socialized and able-bodied privilege includes an unconscious internalization of able-bodied power. Given the unconsciousness of able-bodied privilege, the assumption that individuals are or "should" be healthy and strong often goes unquestioned and unnoticed. Palombi explained, "Those who currently possess able-privilege see accommodations as an inconvenience that can be easily discounted and ignored" (2012, p. 203). Discrimination and bias against individuals living with disabilities is widely prevalent and built into both the figurative and literal architecture of American lives.

Age Privilege

Much like able-bodied privilege, there is an underwhelming amount of literature focusing on age privilege, or privilege associated with being between the ages of 18 years and 64 years. Reflective of SES, age is a social identity domain in which an individual can move between an agent and target rank. Although, unlike SES, progressing from target (0–17 years), to agent (18–64 years), to target again (65 years and older) is a guarantee and certainty within the social identity domain of age. The ability for adults (18–64 years) to reflect on their youth and lack of privilege as a child provides a valuable resource and tool for the education and development of social privilege.

An understanding of privilege related to age can be a complex for various reasons. For example, when individuals are dictated to go to school or the age at which kids get the right to seek out healthcare services without the knowledge of their guardian can depend on state law. Similarly, the age at which an individual can seek emancipation from their guardians varies by state as does the age at which an individual can get married without their guardian's permission. However, the eligibility to vote at 18 years of age is true across the United States as is the eligibility to drink alcohol at age 21 years. For the current project, age privilege is based on when adults can vote (age 18 years) and when adults retire (age 65 years), although retirement age is steadily increasing from age 65 years to age 67 years (Social Security, n.d.).

P. A. Hays (2016) noted that the "A" in the ADDRESSING model represents both numerical age and generational influences, suggesting that generational roles and culture are also important aspects of identity. The natural inclusion of generational role further complicates age privilege and highlights the need for an intersectional lens. For example, although a 40-year-old woman might have privilege in being 40-years-old, her female gender identity is a marginalized identity or target rank. If this woman is unmarried and does not have any children, the intersection of these two identities might then expose her to bias and discrimination about her current circumstance and generational role. For many women in particular, the role of "wife" or "mother" might be a source of value and pride, and might easily be confused for social privilege as it has been defined in this project.

Reflecting the dearth of literature on age privilege, a query on PsychINFO on May 20, 2021, using the search term "age privilege" and no other search limitations did not yield any results. In contrast, a search using the term "ageism" yielded 2,040 results on the same academic database. No measures of age privilege were found, but several measures of ageism exist

including the Fabroni Scale of Ageism (FSA; Fabroni et al., 1990), the Nordic Age Discrimination Scale (NADS; Furunes & Mykletun, 2010), A Prescriptive, Intergenerational-Tension Ageism Scale: Succession, Identity, and Consumption (SICC; North & Fiske, 2013), the Ambivalent Ageism Scale (AAS; Cary et al., 2017), The Workplace Intergenerational Climate Scale (WIC; S.P. King & Bryant, 2017), and The Intolerant Schema Measure (Aosved et al., 2009), which includes ageism as a subscale.

Christian Privilege

Similar to age, religious identity can often present confusion and misunderstanding about whether an individual has privilege depending on their religious identity and upbringings. According to the Pew Research Center (2021), approximately 65% of the United States population identifies as Christian, with 42% as Protestant, 21% as Roman Catholic, and 2% as Mormon. Twenty-eight percent of the remainder of the population identifies as "unaffiliated," 2% as Jewish, 1% as Muslim, 1% as Hindu, 1% as Buddhist, and 2% as another religion. United States demographics clearly indicate that Christianity is the dominant religion and thus impacts American social norms and practices. However, Case et al. (2013) stated, "Approaching the concept of Christian religious privilege in the classroom means addressing a taboo and overwhelmingly sensitive topic with students" (p. 190).

While capitalism and consumerism have overtaken Christian holidays, Christian symbols and privilege still dominate American culture. Examples might include nativity scenes during the Christmas season or the fact that Christmas is the only religious holiday considered to be a national holiday in the United States. Inspired by McIntosh (1988), Schlosser (2003) developed a similar checklist of Christian privileges, cultural endorsements of Christianity through holiday decorations and music, access to Christian music through radio stations, work and school

schedules that accommodate Christian traditions, and "broad access to foods that do not violate Christian dietary restrictions" (Case et al., 2013, p. 189).

Religion can be used to establish and maintain power and privilege and there are numerous examples of international and domestic conflict and oppression couched in religious justifications (Adams & Joshi, 2007). Due to the lack of focus and understanding on Christian privilege, religious persecution and oppression has entrenched the history of humanity. For example, the Holocaust and mass genocide of Jewish people during WWII and acceleration of islamophobia and hate crimes against Muslim people in the United States after September 11, 2001. The ongoing impact of antisemitism, islamophobia, and religious persecution and discrimination continue to be very real and relevant today, especially as religion has become racialized and race and ethnicity can serve as a proxy for assumed religious identity (Adams & Joshi, 2007). Despite numerous examples of religious oppression, there continues to be few examples of psychological research about Christian privilege awareness. One example includes Markowitz and Puchner's (2018) qualitative study; they interviewed 19 elementary teachers and eight administrators to understand what types of Christian perceptions and practices can be found in elementary classrooms, especially with regards to the Christmas holiday.

Although the United States does not formally have a religion and public schools cannot promote any one religion (Heinrich, 2015), "Public schools tend to incorporate a lot of Christianity-based practices" (p. 878). Markowitz and Puchner (2018) found that religious diversity was only considered amongst educators "only when failure to think about it might cause a problem" (p. 890). The authors also found that educators tend to perceive centering Christian holidays such as Christmas as an act that did not have negative consequences toward non-Christian students, and did not appear to feel responsible when non-Christian children could

not partake in holiday celebrations. Markowitz and Puchner identified different "frames of denial" around the ways in which Christianity and Christmas was incorporated in educators' classrooms and called for the need for religious literacy in schools. While their research focuses on elementary education, their findings can likely be applied to other levels of education, work, and public spaces.

A query across all EBSCOhost academic databases on May 20, 2021, using the search term "Christian privilege" yielded 256 results. When this query was limited to just PsychINFO, the search yielded 11 results. While there are no current models or measures of Christian privilege, the Privilege and Oppression Inventory (POI; D. G. Hays et al., 2007) includes religious privilege as a subscale. There are also several measures of religious discrimination measures, including the Religious Discrimination scale (RDS; Allen et al., 2018), Scale of Race-Related Stress for Muslim Americans (Rippy & Newman, 2008), The Religious Commitment Inventory-10 (E. L. Worthington et al., 2003), the Antisemitism-Related Stress Inventory (Rosen et al., 2018), the Perceived Islamophobia Scale (PISS; Kunst et al., 2013), the Scale to Differentiate Islamoprejudice and Secular Islam Critique (Imhoff & Recker, 2012), and The Intolerant Schema Measure (Aosved et al., 2009), which includes religious intolerance as a subscale.

Nationality, Citizenship, and Non-Indigenous Identity Privilege

While privilege in the social identity domains of nationality and citizenship and non-indigenous identity should be studied separately, there is a dearth of research for these identities as they have been neglected within psychological literature for both their agent and target ranks. Contemporary conversations about national identity and citizenship have appeared to only increase due to recent events. When former President Trump was elected in 2016, a

prominent message of his campaign and presidency included the phrase “build the wall” (Rodgers & Bailey, 2020), callously signaling that immigrants, refugees, and non-U.S. citizens, particularly those from Central and South America and those who did not identify as White or Western European, were unwelcome and unwanted in the United States. The U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) was established under the 2002 Homeland Security Act after September 11, 2001. ICE gained increased visibility and media attention during the Trump presidency as the number of immigration raids increase in people’s places of work and their homes (Dickerson et al., 2019; ICE, 2017; National Immigration Law Center, 2020). According to the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement ICE (2017), arrests between 2016 and 2017 increased by approximately 24%.

While indigenous persons have experienced extreme oppression as a consequence of colonialism, they continue to remain a largely invisible population. However, cultural appropriation of indigenous cultures is commonly seen within mainstream American culture, as well as offensive symbols, mascots, and caricatures of First Nation persons. For example, the Massachusetts state seal includes a crude depiction of a First Nation person with a sword positioned over their head. Also, the appropriateness of racist mascots unfortunately continues to be debated today. Due to the consequences of colonialism and racism, many first nations have been stripped of their land, culture, and language (Amnesty International, n.d.; Oster et al., 2014).

Like other identity domains such as age and able-bodied identity, there is limited literature on privilege awareness related to National Identity/Citizenship and Indigenous identity. A query conducted across all EBSCOhost databases on May 20, 2021, with no limitations using

the term “citizenship privilege” yielded six results, a similar search using the term “nationality privilege” or “national identity privilege” yielded one result, and a search using the term “non-indigenous privilege” yielded one result. The terms “non-indigenous” and “privilege” yielded 179 results. No models or measures of national identity or citizenship privilege and non-indigenous identity privilege currently exist.

Conclusion

Based on the current literature, the proposed study intends to construct a new developmental social privilege integration scale that aims to address the existing limitations discussed in this section. In their call to action, Schooley et al. (2019) stated that the study of Whiteness requires consideration of intersectionality. The new measure will incorporate a comprehensive definition of SPI development that considers the intersection of social identities in addition to race and ethnicity that are infrequently considered and studied. The proposed measure will utilize Bergkamp and colleagues’ (2020) DSPIM which was constructed using Grounded Theory, as well as utilize a literature review and focus groups for item construction. Finally, the proposed scale will endeavor to capture the developmental affective experience and transformative nature of SPI. I believe a new scale will contribute to the field by aiding in the accurate measurement of social privilege integration to better address systems of oppression in the future.

Problem Statement

The APA’s 2017 multicultural guidelines task psychologists with the aspirational goal of understanding the nuances of historical and contemporary systems of power, privilege, and oppression. Scholars such as McIntosh (1988), Helms (1984), Case (2013), and D. J. Goodman

(2015), demonstrate the critical need to switch psychology's focus from the experiences of oppressed groups to those of privileged groups. In her influential 1988 article, McIntosh insisted:

> To redesign social systems, we need to first acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are … the key political tool here. They keep the thinking about equality or inequity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominancy by making these subject[s] taboo. (p. 5)

Like McIntosh (1988), Helms (1984), Black and Stone (2005), and J. E. King (1991) also established that the construct of social privilege inherently involves the lack of social privilege awareness because the system is part of the everyday American culture. Further, by introducing the term "rules of Whiteness," Helms (1984) called attention to the taboo nature of social privilege which helps to maintain its invisibility and the oppressive status quo.

Despite the elusive nature of social privilege, the current political climate and shifting demographics stress the need for psychologists to develop social privilege integration. Increasing exposure of historical and contemporary social injustices such as the May 25, 2020, murder of George Floyd and police brutality, adds further urgency to this endeavor. In their study, Cohen et al. (2017) found that about 48% of White millennials believe discrimination is of equal concern for White persons as it is for Black, Asian, or Hispanic persons. These findings are especially worrisome given that in 2019, White psychologists comprised about 83% of the psychology workforce (APA, 2020). Moreover, 2014 U.S. Census Data projects that by 2045, about 50% of the American population will identify as non-White, while more than 50% of younger generations, such as those 18 to 29 years old, will identify as non-white by 2027 (U.S. Department of Commerce Economics and Statistics Administration, 2018; Vespa et al., 2020). These figures suggest that incoming professionals might not fully appreciate the lived

experiences of growing marginalized groups and can potentially inflict harm by acting out isms or invalidating, minimizing, and dismissing their experiences.

Although Cohen and colleagues' (2017) statistics are troubling, there is hope in that a path forward has been identified. Individual examination, awareness, and integration of social privilege provides a path toward addressing the status quo of systemic and structural oppression (Bartoli et al., 2015; Case, 2013; D. J. Goodman, 2015; Helms, 1984, 2017; McIntosh, 1988). However, while instruments measuring constructs related to social privilege currently exist, they present with several limitations and do not accurately capture the full definition of social privilege integration. Further, there is no prevailing theory of social privilege integration development, standards, or guidelines that can help individuals, students, practitioners, and educators facilitate such integration.

In addition to the lack of instruction and resources in social privilege integration development, researchers including Wise and Case (2013) and Bergkamp et al. (2020) have identified that the process of social privilege integration can evoke uncomfortable affective experiences and requires an openness to self-transformation. Their research thus adds further stumbling blocks in forging the path toward the APA's aspirational goals. Although the systemic benefits of social privilege integration are clear in that they help to address oppressive structures, the individual benefits are less clear.

Along with the emotional discomfort of social privilege integration, McIntosh (1988) and Kivel (2011) detail the various costs of racism to White people. For example, although BIPOC are the oppressed group and White people gain advantages from their subjugation, White people experience a loss of cultural richness, a distorted and inaccurate view of history and politics, a loss of or tension within relationships with both BIPOC and other White persons, a distorted

sense of danger and safety, as well as loss of moral integrity and self-esteem as White people experience guilt or shame for participating in and benefiting from racist culture (Kivel, 2011). Spanierman and Heppner (2014) also highlighted that White people might live in a more restrictive fashion as they fear offending BIPOC, attempt to always be politically correct (PC), and walk on eggshells around those who are different from them.

Kivel (2011) and Spanierman and Heppner (2014) highlighted the everyday costs of racism to Whites, which can be expanded to conceptualize the costs of oppression to privileged persons and groups. Freire (1974/2013) provided a more complete picture of how both sides of the coin, privilege and oppression, affects all members of society. Freire (1974/2013) stated:

> Every relationship of domination, of exploitation, of oppression is by definition violent, whether or not the violence is expressed by drastic means. In such a relationship, dominator and dominated alike are reduced to things—the former dehumanized by an excess of power, the latter by lack of it. And things cannot love. (Location 480)

Freire (1974/2013) emphasized the system of power, privilege, and oppression has an oppressive effect on both agents and targets. By removing their humanity, the ability to love and have empathy and compassion for the Other, human beings are reduced to pawns within the larger system itself.

As social privilege integration has been identified as the pathway toward addressing the oppressive status quo, the current study and proposed scale hopes to provide an instrument that can adequately measure social privilege integration development and add to the existing study of social privilege. Given the changing demographics of the American community, increasing exposure of historical and contemporary injustices, as well as the current backdrop of social

justice uprisings like Black Lives Matters (Demby, 2020), efforts to produce a better map of social privilege integration have never appeared more timely.

Research Questions

Given the need for a developmental social privilege integration scale and the limitations of existing instruments measuring similar constructs, the current study hopes to answer the following research questions:

1. Can the construct of social privilege integration as defined in this project be measured?
2. Does the development of social privilege integration differ from the development of privilege integration for one social identity domain?
3. Is it possible to develop a valid and accurate measure of social privilege integration that also captures a developmental process and intersecting social identities?

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

The following section describes the proposed methodology for the construction of a new developmental privilege integration scale. This section will include the researcher's philosophical assumptions, disclosure of bias, personal levels of social privilege integration, and discussion of the study's target population. This section will also provide the operational definitions of important concepts and describe the proposed procedure for test construction. Test construction will be informed by Clark and Watson's (1995) model for test construction and Miller and Lovler's (2016) steps for test construction.

Philosophical Assumptions

In qualitative research, it is common for the researcher to disclose personal experiences, assumptions, and biases that might influence any part of the research process. This practice helps consumers of research to critically evaluate the validity and utility of the results. While the current study will not be utilizing a qualitative methodology, the researcher believes it is still useful to disclose their philosophical assumptions and personal biases that will likely influence the construction of the proposed scale and impact the final results.

Social Constructivism

The researcher adheres to a social constructivist worldview which asserts that truth is socially constructed and "Humans engage with their world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspectives—we are all born into a world of meaning bestowed upon us by our culture" (Creswell, 2014, p. 9). The researcher also believes that the majority of commonly accepted contemporary norms, or truths, have been created by individuals who have historically held dominant group membership, power, and privilege. This perspective thus highlights the

current study's emphasis on examining the experience of privileged groups, specifically the development of social privilege integration.

Social Constructivism and Methodology

Social constructivism also substantiates aspects of the current study's methodology. For example, because the researcher assumes the existence of multiple socially constructed and subjective truths, focus groups consisting of persons with different social locations will be utilized to construct items. This approach will help capture different ideas, perspectives, experiences, and developmental stages of social privilege integration within the measure. The hope is that this approach will capture a more accurate and generalizable set of ideas and, therefore, items. Social constructivism also helps to substantiate this projects' use of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM. Their model was created using Grounded Theory and 11 qualitative interviews; it is thus grounded in a diverse set of social privilege experiences and offers a pluralistic viewpoint to the current study,

Social Justice and Decolonization

Although social justice is not a traditional research perspective, it is both a philosophical framework and bias that I embrace. As a doctoral student in clinical psychology, I deeply value formal education and the body of work before me as I aspire to contribute comparable research. However, I also recognize the colonizing and oppressive history and traditions that have informed contemporary academia.

Colonizing practices are problematic in psychological research, especially when investigating phenomena experienced by oppressed or indigenous groups (L. T. Smith, 2012). According to L. T. Smith (2012), "Research within late-modern and late-colonial conditions continue relentlessly and brings with it a new wave of exploration, discovery, exploitation, and

appropriation" (p. 25). Current research practices are saturated with the values of colonialism and imperialism, and I am uncertain as to how to take a decolonizing approach in the current project. Even though I am studying a specific experience of privileged persons, social privilege integration, intersecting agent and target ranks increase the risk of objectifying the Other and appropriating the experience and knowledge of a marginalized person for my own benefit and the good of the psychological field.

I believe a social justice perspective is one that encourages me to understand the historical and contemporary structures of power, privilege, and oppression in which I necessarily exist, and engage in self-reflection about my social location. McIntosh (1988) stated, "Describing White privilege makes one newly accountable" (p. 1). Following McIntosh, I also believe that the study of social privilege and a social justice perspective holds me accountable in doing my best to expose systemic oppression and how the field of psychology passively contributes to this system, as well as leverage my privileged education to commit to social change. L. T. Smith (2012) argued:

> Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes. (p. 41)

As a researcher, I knowingly participate in the replication and production of Western thought and practice within the restrictions of accepted psychological research methods. Although aspirational, I hope my awareness of my participation in colonizing research methods helps to minimize potential harm as I ultimately aspire to shed light on the elusive system of power, privilege, and oppression.

Researcher's Disclosure of Bias and Social Privilege Integration

Qualitative methodologies assume the researcher's social location, experience, and own social privilege integration can impact and limit results. Although the current study follows a quantitative methodology, I believe my personal background can inform and bias the construction of a developmental social privilege integration instrument. It is, therefore, important to acknowledge and disclose these parts of myself and potential biases.

Considering each of P. A. Hays's (2008, 2016) ADDRESSING model, I have social privilege in all social identity domains except that of sex/gender, ethnicity/race, and national origin. I am a cisgender woman and thus lack privilege in the domain of sex, but have privilege in that I am cisgender. I am biracial, and thus lack privilege as a woman of color. However, it is important to note that while I am half Japanese, I am also half White. I can, therefore, be ethnically ambiguous and "pass" as White, which can grant me privileged status and power depending on how I am perceived by individuals. Further, given that I am half White, I have inherited aspects of my White American father's social privilege, including his generational access to upper-middle class status and higher socioeconomic status, education, and employment opportunities. As his daughter, I have benefitted from my White American family members' lack of systemic and structural oppression.

I was also born in Bangkok, Thailand, and thus lack privilege as someone who was not born in the United States; and, while I was raised in Tokyo, Japan, I was born to an American father and thus have U.S. citizenship, which grants me social privilege. I was also immersed in my father's American and Christian culture and was raised to speak English fluently. I, therefore, "pass" as a person who was born and raised in the United States, which can grant me social privilege depending on context and how I am perceived. In the remaining identity domains, I

have privilege in age, am able-bodied and do not have a disability, am able to navigate Christian cultural norms, have a high socioeconomic status background, am heterosexual, and do not have indigenous heritage. Each of these social identities grants me social privilege and contributes to a more privileged social location.

Each aspect of test construction can be influenced by my intersecting social identity domains or social location. Torino et al. (2019) and Fors (2018) argued that when individuals lack awareness of their privileged identities, this can result in unintentional biases, acts of dominance, and isms. Although I try to engage in self-reflection about my social location, I have not yet fully considered each identity domain and my lack of awareness and integration is thus likely to influence the current study.

Researcher's Disclosure of Process

The current project was conceptualized and conducted with the intent to study and construct a developmental social privilege awareness measure based on Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) research about developmental social privilege awareness. I am in regular contact with the principal investigator, Dr. Jude Bergkamp, of Bergkamp and colleagues' research and he is the chair of this dissertation. Bergkamp et al. proposed to change the term social privilege awareness to social privilege integration in their research as the latter term better encapsulates the full definition and experience of the developmental theory Bergkamp et al. found in their GT research. Bergkamp et al., therefore, changed the name of their model from the developmental social privilege awareness model (DSPAM) to the developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM).

I was informed of Bergkamp and colleagues' change in language in May 2020, and given that this project intended to utilize the DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020) model in the construction

of a scale, I also updated the terms in this project to better reflect the DSPIM model and more accurately express the target construct this project intends to measure. Although this project was initially conducted to study and measure the concept of social privilege awareness, it is better understood and defined as social privilege integration and the term social privilege awareness was therefore replaced with social privilege integration throughout the project (when appropriate). However, the term was not changed in the original materials used throughout this study (see Appendices A–G). In addition, the raw data for this study (see Appendices H–K) remains unedited and unchanged.

Population and Intent

In addition to the researcher's worldview, a measurement's intended purpose can also influence the construction of an instrument (Creswell, 2014). My hope is to construct a developmental social privilege integration scale base on Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM that is a multi-purpose and generalizable instrument and can be used by anybody including those in the fields of psychology and education or outside of the academic community. The universal purpose of the measure will influence the current methodology; data will be collected from a heterogeneous sample of participants with various demographics and backgrounds. Inclusion criteria will consist of participants who are 18 years of age or older and United States residents. Data from individuals who are at least 18 will be collected because the current project is only interested in the social privilege integration development of adults. The age criteria will additionally help to protect the safety of participants and minimize the risk of harm to children, who are members of a vulnerable population. Data will only be collected from U.S. residents because although the researcher believes there are issues of power, privilege, and oppression in every country, they might manifest differently and cause misleading variation in

response styles. If the researcher collects data from participants from different countries, the proposed scale might unintentionally measure differences between countries and not the construct of developmental social privilege integration. Additional details about recruitment and target population are provided in the "*Step Five: Initial Data Collection*" sections.

Test Construction Methodology: Clark and Watson (1995) and Miller and Lovler (2016)

The construction of the proposed developmental social privilege awareness scale will be informed by Clark and Watson's (1995) model for test construction which offers similar guidelines as Miller and Lovler (2016). Although Clark and Watson (1995) do not provide clearly delineated steps, I have derived eight steps from their model to construct and validate a measure. The model is appropriate for the current study for several reasons. First, Clark and Watson's (1995) steps are designed to assist researchers through the construction and completion of a full measure. Second, the steps are designed for the creation of a new self-report measure that uses a Likert-scale, much like the proposed developmental privilege integration scale. Finally, the researcher has already completed the first two steps of the model, which further supports the fit and utility of Clark and Watson's test construction method.

The methodology for test construction includes eight steps as follows:

1. Conceptualization and initial item pool development.
2. Literature review.
3. Creation of an item pool.
4. Content validity.
5. Initial data collection.
6. Psychometric evaluation.
7. Data collection for test validation.

8. Psychometric evaluation – exploratory factor analysis.

While this researcher had originally hoped to complete Steps 1 through 6, due to time and financial restrictions, Steps 1 through 4 were completed. The committee chair has confirmed the completion of a list of items fulfills the minimum requirements for this dissertation. However, the complete methodology for Steps 1 through 8 are described in this section; the researcher hopes to complete Steps 5 through 8 as a future research project in order to finalize the proposed developmental social privilege integration measure.

Step One: Conceptualization and Initial Item Pool Development

The first step of test construction entails identifying and describing the target construct and relevant subconstructs. Clark and Watson (1995) noted the nature of the relationship between the target construct and subconstructs do not need to be fully understood. The researcher will first describe the subconstructs associated with social privilege integration: social privilege, social privilege awareness, social location, oppression, intersectionality, multicultural competence, and cultural humility. A definition for the target construct, social privilege integration will then be provided.

Subconstruct: Social Privilege. As conceptualized in the literature review, the definition of social privilege for the current project is informed by Black and Stone's (2005) definition which states there are five conditions to social privilege:

1) Privilege is a special advantage; it is neither common nor universal.
2) It is granted, not earned or brought into being by one's individual effort or talent.
3) Privilege is a right or entitlement that is related to a preferred status or rank.
4) Privilege is exercised for the benefit of the recipient and to the exclusion or detriment of others.

5) A privileged status is often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it. (p. 244)

The current definition is also influenced by Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) conceptualization that social privilege is associated with each of the agent ranks of P. A. Hays's (2008, 2016) ADDRESSING domains. These agent ranks include membership of an age group between 18 or 64 years of age, able-bodied identity or an identity without disability, cultural Christian, White ethnicity/race, middle or upper-middle class, heterosexual, non-indigenous heritage, U.S. born or U.S. citizenship, or cisgender/male gender identity. Further, inherent in Black and Stone's (2005) fifth condition of social privilege, the current definition assumes that American societal norms, dictated by individuals in positions of power, lulls all members of society into dysconsciousness (J. E. King, 1991).

The current project, therefore, defines social privilege as a special and unearned advantage and power that is granted by intersecting dominant group memberships (a privileged social location) and is "often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it" (Black & Stone, 2005, p. 17), normalizing dysconsciousness of inequity, exploitation, and oppression (J. E. King, 1991). Further, the special and unearned advantage and power is "exercised for the benefit of the recipient and to the exclusion or detriment of others" (Black & Stone, 2005, p. 244).

Subconstruct: Social Privilege Awareness. While the target construct social privilege integration is a recently developed concept and term coined by Bergkamp et al. (2020), social privilege awareness is a related construct that has received more attention and study within the fields of psychology, education, nursing, and sociology. Despite its increased attention, however, there appears to be no clear and explicit definition of social privilege awareness. Bergkamp et al. suggest that social privilege awareness is a component of social privilege integration, however, these two concepts are distinct and different.

Based on the existing literature, including identity models and privilege awareness scales, social privilege awareness involves consciousness of one's social privilege, granted by a socially privileged identity such as being between age 18 and 64, being able-bodied, identifying as Christian or raised within Christian culture, being racially and ethnically White, having middle or high SES rank, identifying as heterosexual, not having an indigenous heritage, having U.S. nationality or citizenship, and identifying as cis-gender and male (Bergkamp et al., 2020; Black & Stone, 2005; Case, 2013; D. J. Goodman, 2011, 2015; P. A. Hays, 2016; Johnson, 2018).

This awareness of social privilege awareness includes one's knowledge and understanding of the fact of social privilege (Black et al., 2007; D. G. Hays et al., 2007; McClellan, 2014). Social privilege awareness also includes a critical awareness or consciousness of one's social privilege that challenges privileged dogma and dysconsciousness (Bergkamp et al., 2020; Claney & Parker, 1989; Freire, 1974/2013; J. E. King 1991), which involves self-reflection and an internal exploration of one's social privilege and social location. Although Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) social identity development model suggests consciousness of social privilege includes identity development and attempts to answer the question "who am I?" (p. 46), Bergkamp et al. (2020) argue that the term social privilege awareness is limiting and does not capture the essential experience of self-transformation that can accompany a critical awareness of social privilege and thus propose the term social privilege integration.

The current project, therefore, uses the following definition of social privilege awareness, which is a component of social privilege integration. Social privilege awareness is a developmental process in which an individual experiences an awakening from dysconsciousness to a conscious and critical awareness of the fact of society's systems of power, privilege, and

oppression, which includes an intentional recognition of one's unique social location within this system (Bergkamp et al., 2020).

Subconstruct: Social Location. As conceptualized in the literature review, the current project defines social location as an individual's unique combination of intersecting privileged identities and non-privileged identities based upon the ten social identity domains specified by P. A. Hays (2008, 2016) and Bergkamp et al. (2020). The terms "privileged identities" and "non-privileged identities" are used interchangeably with "agent rank" and "target rank," respectively. Further, social location assumes that when an individual has more agent ranks than target ranks, they have a more privileged and powerful position within society compared to an individual with fewer agent ranks. Finally, privileged social locations are conferred through a socially constructed hierarchy and system of power that is founded in the American history and tradition of dominance and subjugation.

Subconstruct: Oppression. Oppression is relevant to the target construct because it is the corollary to social privilege (Black et al., 2007; Case, 2013; D. J. Goodman, 2015; Hanna et al., 2000; Helms, 1984; McIntosh, 1988). Hanna et al. (2000) defined oppression as the act of "imposing on another or others an object, label, role, experience, or set of living conditions that is unwanted, needlessly painful, and detracts from physical or psychological well-being" (p. 431). Oppression can also manifest through force or deprivation and can be actively or passively expressed. Oppression can additionally occur when a member of an oppressed group colludes with the privileged group by victimizing their own (Hanna et al., 2000). Black et al. (2007) noted, "Oppression is an outcome in society where privilege is unchecked and unchallenged because it is used as a mechanism to obtain and retain cultural resources (e.g., access to education, housing good paying jobs)" (p. 18).

Case (2013) stated, “I am convinced that studies of oppression will not go anywhere toward ending oppression unless they are accompanied by understanding of the systems of privilege that cause systems of oppression” (p. 2). Case, therefore, emphasizes the interdependent nature of systems of social privilege and oppression. Although the current study hopes to create a scale for social privilege awareness, it is important to consider the relationship between social privilege and oppression during item construction. Based on existing literature the current project defines oppression as the systemic discrimination and marginalization of specific groups based on social identity domains and used as a mechanism to obtain power and resource (Black & Stone, 2005; Black et al., 2007; Case, 2013).

Subconstruct: Intersectionality. Intersectionality is frequently associated with social privilege in that intersectional theory challenges structures of social privilege and power. Kimberlé Crenshaw introduced the groundbreaking concept in 1989 which, challenged a single-axis framework which viewed marginalized social identities as mutually exclusive. Crenshaw (1989) recognized “multiply-burdened” (p. 140) or persons who have multiple marginalized social identities, specifically, “Black” and “woman,” were relegated to a distorted and partial frame of either “Black” or “woman;” a frame which dismissed Black women as whole persons. Intersectionality is, therefore, related to social privilege in that it brings visibility to “multiply-burdened” persons who have been “erased” or made invisible within today’s social structure and systems of power. In addition, researchers have found privileged social identities overlap and intersect with oppressed social identities (Case, 2013; Collins, 1990), and awareness of target ranks can help increase awareness of agent ranks. Intersectional theory, therefore, relates to the construct of social privilege awareness in that an individual’s awareness is influenced by their intersecting social identities or social location.

Subconstruct: Multicultural Competence. Multicultural competence refers to the lifelong process of aspiring to be competent in working with multicultural identities and contexts that are intersectional and dynamic as described by the 2017 APA multicultural guidelines. With the inclusion of Guideline 5 and, therefore, the aspiration to recognize and understand historical and contemporary structures of power, privilege, and oppression, the APA introduced a social justice perspective. Guideline 5 states:

> Psychologists aspire to recognize and understand historical and contemporary experiences with power, privilege, and oppression. As such, they seek to address institutional barriers and related inequities, disproportionalities, and disparities of law enforcement, administration of criminal justice, educational, mental health, and other systems as they seek to promote justice, human rights, and access to quality and equitable mental and behavioral health services. (APA, 2017, p. 4)

As described by the APA (2017), multicultural competence includes an awareness of social privilege. The current project assumes that social privilege awareness is an important yet smaller aspect of two larger frameworks; social justice and multicultural competence. It is important to note that the APA's (2017) inclusion of a social justice perspective in the multicultural guidelines should not be misconstrued; social justice and advocacy are not exclusively relevant to multicultural issues. Systems of power and privilege necessarily affect all theories and practices of psychology.

Subconstruct: Cultural Humility. There has been a lack of agreement within the field of psychology about the definition of cultural humility. However, after conducting an extensive literature review, Mosher et al. (2017) suggested cultural humility includes five components:

> (a) a lifelong motivation to learn from others, (b) critical self-examination of cultural awareness, (c) interpersonal respect, (d) developing mutual partnerships that address power imbalances, (e) and an other-oriented stance open to new cultural information. (p. 223)

While aspects of cultural humility are similar to social privilege awareness, there is a dearth of literature distinguishing the two constructs. Social privilege awareness can also include the five components of cultural humility proposed by Mosher et al. (2017), however, one distinct variation appears to exist. Mainly, that while cultural humility takes an "other-oriented stance," social privilege awareness takes a self-oriented stance.

Cultural humility primarily focuses its attention on learning from others and examining one's own cultural awareness in relation to other cultures as well as taking an open, non-judgmental, and value-neutral perspective. Social privilege awareness, on the other hand, although acknowledges the value of the Other, requires the individual to self-reflect on their own identity and historical origins of their privileged group membership. Moreover, social privilege awareness cannot take a value-neutral perspective because the reflection of historical systems of power, privilege, and oppression inherently involves the inclusion of political ideology and questions of morality. While cultural humility offers a crucial perspective in multiculturally competent psychology, it is distinct from the construct of social privilege awareness.

Target Construct: Social Privilege Integration. In their developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM), Bergkamp et al. (2020) suggest social privilege integration is a comprehensive concept and term that not only captures social privilege awareness, but encapsulates the idea that social privilege awareness can be a self-transformative experience; the developmental process entails an integration of one's social privilege awareness into their

identity narrative, radically changing one's relationship to self, others, and the world around them.

The current project uses the following definition of social privilege integration: social privilege integration is a developmental process in which an individual experiences an awakening from dysconsciousness to a conscious and critical awareness of the fact of society's systems of power, privilege, and oppression (Bergkamp et al., 2020). This includes an intentional recognition of one's unique social location within the system and an integration of social privilege awareness into one's identity narrative which, results in a transformation of self (Bergkamp et al., 2020).

Step Two: Literature Review

The second step of Clark and Watson's (1995) model involves a thorough literature review. The model directs the researcher to review literature relevant to the target construct and subconstructs that were identified in Step One. The literature review for the current study has examined the constructs of social privilege integration, social privilege, social privilege awareness, social privilege awareness, social location, oppression, intersectionality, multicultural competence, and cultural humility. The literature review is intended to inform the researcher's understanding of the target construct and subconstructs, as well as the item development process. The researcher completed during their ongoing work in the Social Privilege Awareness Research Lab at Antioch University Seattle (AUS). Please refer to Chapter II for the literature review.

Step Three: Creation of an Item Pool

The third step of Clark and Watson's (1995) model involves the creation of an item pool. This initial item pool is intended to be extensive and include items that diverge from the target

construct and the researcher's theoretical understanding. Items are created from various hypotheses and theories and are likely to involve multiple re-writes and conceptualizations.

Focus Group Participant Recruitment. In order to create an item pool, the current study conducted one focus group with the intention of conceptualizing and writing items for the developmental social privilege integration measure. The focus group consisted of six participants; Krueger (1994) suggested groups larger than 10 participants might be challenging and limit collaboration and individual input. Focus group members were recruited using convenience sampling. Convenience sampling was used for one primary reason: given that DSPIS is intended to transform Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM into a measure, it was important for me to recruit participants who were knowledgeable about the concept of social privilege and had a range of experiences engaging in their own social privilege integration processes. Due to the specialized knowledge needed amongst focus group members, I recruited doctoral-level psychology students from Antioch University New England's (AUNE) affinity research group and AUS's Social Privilege Awareness Research Lab. Recruitment of focus group members involved personal communication with the dissertation chair and members of the AUS and AUNE research groups (see Appendix A). After recruitment of focus group participants, the researcher sent an electronic copy of the informed consent for participating in the focus group (see Appendix B**)**. Participants read, signed, and returned the electronic informed consent via email to the researcher before participation in the focus group.

Participant Demographics. A complete list of demographics were not collected due my collegial relationship with each of the group participants; however, some was collected. Two participants were AUNE students and four were AUS students. Two were first-year PsyD students, while one was in their second year, two were in their third year, and one was in their

fifth year. Five participants identified as cis-gender female, one cis-gender male, four identified as racially White, and two identified as non-White.

Focus Group Didactic. Given that the purpose of this study is to transform Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM into a measure, before the focus group met, the researcher conducted a brief didactic and provided educational materials about social privilege and DSPIM (formerly DSPAM). This helped to ensure that each participant had a foundational knowledge of DSPIM and the concept of social privilege integration (formerly social privilege awareness). The didactic was conducted online using Zoom for several reasons. First, the participants and this researcher live in different areas of the United States. Second, the didactic was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. The didactic was 60-minutes long and conducted on September 24, 2020. The researcher prepared and used a PowerPoint presentation (see Appendix C) which provided information about social privilege integration including Black and Stone's (2005) definition of social privilege, a brief overview of the existing literature, and a review of P. A. Hays's (2016) ADDRESSING Model. The presentation also guided participants through the stages of DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020).

Focus Group. After the didactic was completed, the researcher conducted a focus group with six participants tasked to write items that capture the different stages of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM. Due to the same reasons as the didactic, the focus group was conducted online using Zoom on September 28, 2020, and was 120 minutes long. The researcher used a PowerPoint presentation to aid in guiding participants in the item construction process (see Appendix D). The presentation first included an activity which utilized a worksheet developed by Olson (2019; see Appendix D). This activity intended to aid participants in mapping their social location and encourage reflection about their own developmental process of

social privilege integration. The researcher hoped that this activity would help provide inspiration and creativity for participants to develop items.

The presentation also contained suggestions for writing good and effective test items (Miller & Lovler, 2016; Moreno et al., 2006) and detailed information about each developmental stage of DSPIM, which include Stage 1: critical exposure, Stage 2: identity threat (cognitive and affective dissonance), Stage 3: identity protection (defense, dilution, or empty advocacy), and Stage 4: reconciliation (acceptance, integration, and agent-to-agent advocacy). Each stage was presented as a slide and after each stage, participants received approximately 10 minutes to create items individually then share their items with other group members, comment on each other's items, as well as re-write their own or write new ones. Participants were asked to write items that capture each developmental stage of DSPIM as well as items that elicit general knowledge of social privilege. Items could also capture participants' own perception of the overall process of social privilege integration. Given that self-transformation is a central ingredient to DSPIM, focus group participants were also asked to reflect on their own development of social privilege integration and how it has transformed them as inspiration for item creation.

Throughout the item writing process, the researcher utilized principles of cognitive interviewing (CI). A criticism of scale development includes critiques of item construction such as the possibility that a respondent's interpretation of an item differs from the scale developer's intended meaning, which ultimately impacts test validity (Peterson et al., 2017). CI can be applied to test construction to help assess the validity of items and reduce this type of misalignment between respondents and the scale developer. The current research specifically applied two main procedures of CI, "think aloud" and "verbal probes." For think aloud, the scale

developer asks questions to participants to uncover their thought process while responding to or creating items while verbal probes can include spontaneous questions from the scale developer that also investigate the thought processes of respondents. Spontaneous verbal probes can emerge naturally from the item development process.

The research asked participants to write items informed by their overall impression of each of the DSPIM stages as well as from their own experiences of social privilege integration. The researcher used CI's procedures of CI and verbal probes, often asking participants questions such as, "Do you remember the first time you began to consider your own privilege and what was that like for you? What feelings did you experience? What thoughts did you have? And What behaviors did you engage in?" Questions also included, "What was your thought process in writing that item? What inspired you to write that item? and, Why did you use that word/language?" The researcher additionally encouraged discussion between participants to guide the focus group toward the primary task of writing a wide range of test items.

Data Collection. Throughout the item pool creation, the researcher kept track of various items proposed by participants during the focus group. Each participant additionally emailed their list of items they wrote during the focus group to the researcher. The researcher then pooled the items together and transferred them to an Excel spreadsheet.

Step Four: Content Validity

Content Evaluation Panel. The fourth step deviates from Clark and Watson's (1995) model, but is also implied in their discussion about content validity. The fourth step aims to measure the content validity of the items created in Step Three by using Lawshe's (1975) approach to determining content validity. The study created a content evaluation panel composed of experts on the topic of social privilege integration. Lawshe does not recommend a specific

number of experts for the content evaluation panel, but the current project recruited two experts on the DSPIM: Jude Bergkamp, PhD, and Lindsay Olson, MA, authors of the DSPIM model. Recruitment of content evaluation participants involved personal communication.

Each member of the panel rated items as either *essential*, *useful but not necessary*, or *not necessary*. The responses from each panelist were then combined, and the number of ratings for each item is determined. Lawshe's content validity ratio (CVR) was used to establish the content validity of each item and informed the retention and rejection of items. The CVR for each item was calculated using the following formula (Lawshe, 1975):

$$\mathrm{CVR}_i = \frac{n_{e-} \frac{N}{2}}{\frac{N}{2}}$$

CVR_i is the combined panelist rated value for an item on the test and n_e is the number of panelists who rated an item as *essential*. *N* is the total number of panelists on the panel.

CVRs can range between −1.00 and 1.00 where 0.00 indicates that 50% of the panelists rated an item as *essential* (Miller & Lovler, 2016). To determine if an item is essential, its minimum value must be determined and is dependent on the number of experts on the content evaluation panel. Given that there were only two content evaluation panelists, a CVR of −1.00 indicated that both panelists rated an item as *not necessary*. A CVR of 0 indicated one panelist rated an item as *essential* while the other panelist rated it as either *useful but not essential* or *not necessary*, or both panelists rated the item as *useful but not essential*. A CVR of 1 indicated that both panelists rated an item as *essential*. In addition to establishing content validity, the experts on the content evaluation panel also had the liberty to propose re-writes of existing items and also rewrote items themselves. Completion of Step Four created a second pool of items for this study's measure.

Researcher Review. Although not formally part of Clark and Watson's method for test construction or measuring the Content Validity Ratio of items, the researcher individually reviewed each item throughout the item construction process. The researcher rejected and removed items with a −1.0 CVR and independently reviewed items with a CVR of 0.0 or 1. Items were rewritten or eliminated if they were unclear in their language, used excessively academic language, or were too long and difficult to read. Items were also rewritten or eliminated if they were unclear in what they measured, too vague, or too specific. Items which were too similar to each other and captured similar aspects of the DSPIM stages were also consolidated.

Double barreled items were not edited or removed if they appeared to help in capturing the essence of a DSPIM stage. Finally, the researcher added and wrote new items that described aspects of a DSPIM stage that had not yet been captured by an item already created by the focus group. For example, the researcher wrote items pertaining to DSPIM's conducive factors. In addition, the researcher wrote items that could potentially capture an individual's general knowledge, facts, or experiences about social privilege and different social identity domains.

Step Five: Initial Data Collection

The following steps of this methodology were not completed for this study. However, they were originally proposed and will be described here for future research purposes. The fifth step of Clark and Watson's (1995) model is to perform an initial data collection.

Recruitment and Sampling. Online experiments using platforms to recruit a wide range of participants and administer surveys have recently become more commonplace (Palan & Schitter, 2018). The number of published studies using Amazon's online platform, Mechanical

Turk or MTurk, to source participants increased from 61 in 2011 to over 1,200 in 2015 (Bohannon, 2016). Palan and Schitter (2018) reported:

> The success of online experiments is not surprising, as they offer at-scale recruitment of participants in a short time, are generally cheap, and offer access to a broader population —potentially even representative of the internet population—than classic lab experiments with students. (p. 22)

Palan and Schitter (2018) suggested online platforms such as MTurk offer an alternative to recruitment methods of snowball sampling and convenience sampling typically used in psychological research to recruit a large heterogenous sample.

The possibility of online experiments is especially exciting because Heinrich et al. (2010) suggested behavioral science research has historically been limited to a narrow sample of the general population, specifically, Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic (WEIRD) societies. About 68% of psychological research is produced in the United States (Heinrich et al., 2010) and this research represents less than 5% of the world's population. Arnett (2008) conducted an extensive analysis of six APA journals and discovered 73% of first authors were from American universities. Moreover, in 2007, Arnett (2008) "found that in 67% of American studies published in *JPSP* [the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*] consisted of undergraduate psychology students" (p. 602) or WEIRD samples. These findings and statistics are especially concerning given the tendency for psychology to assume research conducted exclusively with WEIRD participants can be generalized to all human beings (Heinrich et al., 2010).

However, Palan and Schitter (2018) cautioned that MTurk was not designed for the scientific community or social sciences and thus presents both methodological and ethical

limitations. Prolific offers an online platform that meets the specific needs and requirements of academic researchers (Callan et al., 2016; Palan & Schitter, 2018). Palan and Schitter (2018) reported, “It [Prolific] combines good recruitment standards with reasonable cost, and explicitly informs participants that they are recruited for participation in research” (p. 23). In June of 2020, Prolific reported they had approximately 125,998 participants who were active and available for recruitment. Given their power to recruit large and diverse samples for research, Prolific has understandably grown in popularity as a research tool in the academic community.

The current study proposes to use Prolific as a tool for recruiting a large sample of participants (at least 300) that is representative of the adult American population. Recruitment criteria will thus include individuals who are 18 years are older and currently reside in the United States, but will not specify any additional criteria; the study hopes to recruit participants that represent a wide range of demographics, educational backgrounds, and political ideologies. Prolific will also be used to distribute and administer an anonymous web- based survey of test items produced through SurveyMonkey to collect data for an item analysis.

The Prolific academic researcher terms of service (Prolific, 2021b) and privacy policy (Prolific, 2021a) guarantees that Prolific does not disclose personal information between participants and researchers. Although Prolific allows researchers to view demographic data about the participants, they outline protective measures to prevent the release of participants’ personally identifying data. In addition, Prolific provides a secure, anonymized email for researchers to communicate with participants throughout the study. Prolific recruits must consent to participating in the research and compensation is computed at a rate of at least $6.50 (US dollars) per hour. Data collected from Prolific participants will be treated as the researcher’s private information; as such, Prolific may not use, sell, rent, or otherwise share the information.

Procedures. The researcher will construct a survey of initial test items on SurveyMonkey. SurveyMonkey provides a secure online platform on which web-based self-reports can be hosted and completed by research participants. Other than demographics and IP address, personally identifying information will not be collected. Participants' answers will be anonymous, confidential, handled with care, and stored on secure and encrypted platforms and computers. IP addresses will be collected solely for the purpose of correlating participant responses or response styles to geographical location. IP addresses can be traced to a computer but not to a person, which will help protect participants' privacy (SurveyMonkey, 2021). The researcher will distribute the survey of items through the integrated use of Prolific and SurveyMonkey and collect responses form a minimum 300 individuals.

Test Materials. SurveyMonkey test materials will include screening for participants who are 18 years or older and currently reside in the United States (Prolific will additionally screen for this criteria) as well as an informed consent that reviews the participants' rights and details privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity of the study. Materials will also include administration instructions and definition of important terms. Given the lack of common discourse and dialogue about social privilege within American society, the researcher will likely provide definitions of some terms so participants can respond as honestly and appropriately as possible (see Appendix E for defined terms). A demographic questionnaire (see Appendix A), and survey of initial items will be included in test materials. The researcher might consider creating multiple versions of the survey that presents items in a different order, and participants will be randomly assigned to one of the different versions of the survey; this approach will help control for random order effects. Finally, the researcher will end the survey with a note of thanks and contact information should the participant have any questions or concerns or would like to be removed from the study. Data

from participants who decline to participate during or after the study will be removed from the overall data set and destroyed.

Capturing Intersectionality. The current project hopes to capture the full construct of social privilege integration which includes a developmental process for any one of P. A. Hays's (2008, 2016) 10 ADDRESSING domains. One of the limitations of existing instruments is that they measure a facet of social privilege. For example, although widely used, Helms and Carter's (1990) WRIAS measures White Racial identity attitude and McClellan's (2014) APOS-2 measures the four social identity domains of race, gender, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status. Black et al. (2007) also measured White racial privilege acknowledging that future development of measures should include other areas of privilege.

The current project proposes to capture each intersecting identity domain using two methods. First, the researcher hopes to create a set of items that elicit responses for the general knowledge and awareness of an individual's privilege in each identity domain. However, given the purpose of this study, most items will capture the more general and broad construct of social privilege and will not include an extensive number of items reflecting developmental privilege integration for each identity domain; this is neither the intent of the current project nor a scalable design.

Second, during data collection (Step 5 for Phase I and Step 7 for Phase II), participants will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire asking them about each of their ten social identity domains (see Appendix E). Therefore, participants will be asked about their age, whether they have a developmental disability or acquired disability, their religious identity and upbringing, their ethnicity or racial identity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, whether they have indigenous heritage, whether they were U.S. born or have U.S. citizenship, and their

sex assigned at birth and gender identity. This demographic questionnaire will help the researcher determine whether each participant has a privileged identity domain or unprivileged identity domain. During data analysis (Step 6 for Phase I and Step 8 for Phase II), the researcher will compare differences between item responses and participants' demographics. The researcher thus hopes to explore if there are specific response styles depending on if a participant has an agent or target rank in varying identity domains.

These two proposed methods aim to capture how intersecting social identities, specifically agent identities and target identities, inform social privilege integration development.

Application of a 6-Point Likert Scale. Measures such as the SPM (Black et al., 2007) and POI (D. G. Hays et al., 2007) apply a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014) applies a 6-point scale with 1 (s*trongly disagree*), 2 (*disagree*), 3 (*slightly disagree*), 4 (*slightly agree*), 5 (*agree*) and 6 (*strongly agree*). Alternatively, the CCS (Diemer et al., 2017) applies one 6-point scale and one 5-point scale measuring critical reflection and critical action, respectively. The first is anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 6 (*strongly agree*), while the second is anchored in 1 (*never did this*) and 5 (*at least once a week*). The WRAS (Grzanka et al., 2020) uses a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*not likely*) and, 5 (*very likely*).

Weng (2004) examined the effects of the number of response categories, specifically from 3- to 9-point Likert scales. Weng found lower response categories had both lower internal consistency and test-retest reliability. In addition, scales with eight or nine response categories did not help improve discrimination and resulted in inconsistent scoring. Weng thus proposed scales should aim to use at least a 5-point scale if not a 6- or 7-point scale. The current study proposes to follow the lead of previous researchers and Weng's recommendations and apply a

6–point scale anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 6 (*strongly agree*).

Data Security. Once data is collected, the researcher will ensure participant data is stored on a secure and encrypted platform. Secure Sockets Layer (SSL) is a protocol developed for transmitting private documents or information via the Internet. SSL creates a secure connection between a client and a server, encrypting sensitive information being transmitted through the web page. SSL is automatically enabled for all surveys distributed on SurveyMonkey's platform. Data collected from the surveys will be treated as the researcher's private information; as such, SurveyMonkey may not use, sell, rent, or otherwise share the information. The data will be retained on SurveyMonkey servers for 5 years and will then be destroyed and discarded.

The researcher will also extract survey data from SurveyMonkey into an excel spreadsheet. This data will be handled with care and stored on a secure, password protected and encrypted computer. As the collected data will be anonymous and de-identified, it will be archived and there is no anticipated destruction date. The data may be used to supplement future research on social privilege.

An exact sample size cannot be provided at this moment because items have not yet been created. Sample size will be calculated using Creative Research System's Sample Size Calculator (Creative Research Systems, 2020). The calculator uses a confidence level of 5; this means that if the researcher asks 384 test takers a question, and 50% of the test takers answer "strongly agree," the researcher can safely assume that about 45% and 55% of the general population, of which my sample represents, would have also answered "strongly agree." (Miller & Lovler, 2016). The calculator also uses an interval level of 95%; this means that if test takers answer "strongly agree" to a question, the researcher can be 95% certain that between 45% and

55% of the general population would have also answered “strongly agree” (Miller & Lovler, 2016).

Step Six: Psychometric Evaluation—Item Analysis

The sixth and final step of Clark and Watson’s (1995) model for test construction involves psychometric evaluation of the data obtained from Step Five. This step will include conducting a quantitative item analysis on data collected from at least 300 participants from the integrated use of Prolific and SurveyMonkey. Data will be extracted in an Excel spreadsheet from SurveyMonkey. A quantitative item analysis is a statistical analysis of the responses collected from participants and is intended to examine the performance of each item to make critical decisions about which to retain and remove from the final measure (Miller & Lovler, 2016). The analysis includes an examination of item difficulty, item discrimination, interitem correlations and item-total correlations. Analysis will be conducted through the use of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS; International Business Machine Corporation, IBM Corp., 2015) which helps conduct statistical analysis and calculate the psychometric properties of datasets.

In order to calculate item difficulty, the current study will follow steps provided by Miller and Lovler (2016). These steps included extracting data into a spreadsheet and reverse scoring any items that are reversed so data includes the entire range of responses (1–6 with higher responses representing more of the construct, social privilege integration). Steps additionally include splitting the responses into two groups so data consists of 1s and 0s, and transferring this data to SPSS for analysis.

Internal Consistency. According to Miller and Lovler (2016), internal consistency is “a measure of how related the items (or groups of items) on the test are to one another” (p. 153).

Internal consistency is calculated by Cronbach's alpha because the proposed measure will use a 6–point Likert scale and have more than two responses per item. Cronbach's alpha above 0.7 is adequate while above 0.8 is ideal. The researcher predicts a low to moderate internal consistency score because the proposed study will measure the development of social privilege integration, which inherently suggests there will be variation in the construct being measured.

Item Difficulty. Item difficulty is defined as "the percentage of test takers who respond correctly" (Miller & Lovler, 2016, p. 344) to an item. If all participants respond to an item in one uniform manner, this limits the ability to compare responses and distinguish test scores between test takers. Item difficulty (*p* value or percentage value*)* is calculated by dividing the number of persons who answered an item "correctly" by the total number of respondents to that item. Miller and Lovler (2016) noted that item difficulty does not only apply to instruments that measure knowledge and skills which often include "right" and "wrong answers," but can also apply to tests of personality and attitudes. Although tests of personality and attitudes do not have "correct" answers, it is helpful to calculate if an item is likely to be endorsed or has the ability to yield different responses. Thus, if an item is too "difficult" this means too few participants endorsed the item and it might be too specific. If an item is too "easy" this suggests too many participants endorsed the item and it might be too general.

Item difficulty is calculated using the mean for each item. Items that are "too easy" typically have a mean of 0.9 to 1.0 and items that are "too hard" have a mean of 0.0 to 0.2 and are removed from the overall measure (Miller & Lovler, 2016). Item difficulty will be especially important as the current study hopes to develop a scale that measures different stages of development for social privilege integration.

Item Discrimination. Item discrimination is defined as the comparison between "the performance of those who obtained very high test scores (the upper group [U]) with the performance of those who obtained very low test scores (the lower group [L]) on each item" (Miller & Lovler, 2016, p. 345). Item discrimination is important as it helps to distinguish between "high" versus "low" test scores, and the current study hopes that "high" tests scores will indicate higher developmental levels of social privilege whereas "lower" test scores will indicate lower developmental levels of social privilege integration. The item discrimination index is calculated by obtaining the difference *D* between the number of participants who responded correctly to an item in an upper or lower group by the total number of participants in the upper or lower group. The difference is calculated using the following formulas:

$$U = \frac{\text{Number in upper group who responded correctly}}{\text{Total number in upper group}} \times 100$$

$$L = \frac{\text{Number in lower group who responded correctly}}{\text{Total number in lower group}} \times 100$$

$$D = U - L$$

After calculating the *D* value for each item, Miller and Lovler (2016) suggested researchers should identify and retain items with high positive *D* values and discard or rewrite items with low negative *D* values as low numbers suggest items did not adequately discriminate between high and low scorers.

Interitem Correlations. Interitem correlation demonstrates how items correlate with each item, and is important for establishing internal consistency of the overall test (Miller & Lovler, 2016). Items measuring the same constructs, themes, traits, or attitudes within a test should correlate with one another and not correlate with items that measure something different.

Correlations can range from 0 to 1 and can be positive or negative; positive correlations suggest that one trait increases another trait also increases whereas negative correlations suggest when one trait increases another trait decreases (M. Toohey, personal communication, October 31, 2019). Interitem correlations will be calculated using the interitem correlation matrix on SPSS. The larger the correlation, the stronger the relationship thus, 0 to 0.2 is very weak, 0.2 to 0.4 is weak, 0.4 to 0.6 is moderate, 0.6 to 0.8 is strong, and 0.8 to 1.0 is very strong (M. Toohey, personal communication, October 31, 2019).

Item-Total Correlations. Item-total correlations offer another measure of internal consistency. Item-total correlations help to assess whether an item can "discriminate high-scoring individuals from lower scoring individuals" (Miller & Lovler, 2016, p. 347) and compares how test takers respond to one item compared to all of the items as a whole, thus measuring the strength and direction of items. Item-total correlations will be calculated using the corrected item-total correlation statistics in SPSS. The larger the correlation the stronger the relationship thus, 0 to 0.2 is very weak, 0.2 to 0.4 is weak, 0.4 to 0.6 is moderate, 0.6 to 0.8 is strong, and 0.8 to 1.0 is very strong (M. Toohey, personal communication, October 31, 2019). Items with no relationship (0.00) or negative correlations should be re-written or removed.

Item Analysis Conclusion. An item analysis that measures item difficulty, item discrimination, interitem correlations, and item-total correlations will help to establish which items should be retained or removed for the finalized version of the proposed developmental social privilege integration scale.

Step Seven: Data Collection for Test Validation

Recruitment and Sampling. As with the item analysis and as described in Step Five, recruitment and sampling will again utilize the Prolific online platform. Creative Research

System's Sample Size Calculator (2020) was used to determine the required sample size for this project. Using a confidence interval of 5, Step Seven of the current study will require a sample size of 384 participants. This means that if the researcher asks 384 test takers a question, and 50% of the test takers answer *strongly agree*, the researcher can safely assume that about 45% and 55% of the general population, of which the sample represents, would also answer *strongly agree* (Creative Research Systems, 2020; Miller & Lovler, 2016). The calculator also uses an interval level of 95%; this means that if test takers answer *strongly agree* to a question, the researcher can be 95% certain that between 45% and 55% of the general population would also answer *strongly agree* (Miller & Lovler, 2016). The same researcher terms and privacy for Prolific will apply in this step as described in Step Five.

Similary to Step Five in Phase I of the study, the researcher hopes to recruit a heterogenous sample that represents the general adult population in the United States. Inclusion criteria will remain the same; only participants who are 18 years or older and United States residents will be able to participate in the study. The researcher hopes to recruit a wide variety of participants who represent various demographics, backgrounds, education levels, and political ideologies.

Procedures. Like Step Five of Phase I, the researcher will construct the finalized version of the developmental social privilege integration scale on SurveyMonkey. The same researcher terms and privacy for SurveyMonkey will apply in this step as described in Step Five.

Test Materials. SurveyMonkey test materials will be similar to those presented in Step Five. Screening for participants who are 18 years or older and currently reside in the United States will be conducted (Prolific will additionally screen for this criteria). Test materials also include an informed consent that reviews the participants' rights and details privacy,

confidentiality, and anonymity of the study. Administration instructions and definition of important terms will be provided (see Appendix F**).** An electronic informed consent (see Appendix G) demographic questionnaire (see Appendix E**)**, Marlowe–Crowne Social Desirability Scale – Short Form 1 (MC-1; Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972), and finalized version of the developmental social privilege integration scale will also be administered (see Appendix K). Finally, the researcher will end the survey with a note of thanks and contact information should the participant have any question or concerns or would like to be removed from the study. Data from participants who decline to participate during or after the study will be removed from the overall data set and destroyed.

Marlowe–Crowne Social Desirability Scale – Short Form 1 (MC-1). Response bias includes "patterns of responding that result in false or misleading information" (Miller & Lovler, 2016, p. 329), which can limit the accuracy and utility of test scores. Social desirability is a type of response bias that is caused by participants' desire to present themselves in a favorable light. Social privilege can still be considered a taboo subject (Helms, 2017) and can elicit many uncomfortable thoughts and feelings that are challenging to acknowledge (Case, 2013). There is, therefore, potential for participants to attempt to present themselves in a desirable fashion while answering items associated with social privilege.

In order to reduce the possibility of response bias, the researcher hopes to gain permission to use the Marlowe–Crowne Social Desirability Scale – Short Form 1 (MC-1) which is a scale that helps to assess the degree of an individual's presentation of social desirability (Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). Initially developed by Crowne and Marlowe as a 33-item scale in 1960, the MC-1 was developed in 1972 and is a 10-item scale with *true* or *false* responses. Items pertain to socially desirable or undesirable behaviors such as "I like to gossip at times," "I'm

always willing to admit it when I make a mistake," and "I always practice what I preach." McClellan (2014) reported, "The total score for this measure ranges from 0-10, with higher scores indicating higher levels of impression management" (p. 1.24). The MC-1 is a popular instrument in psychological research (McClellan, 2014) and often used to measure correlations between a trait being measured and a participant's socially desirable responses. When the MC-1 is strongly correlated with an instrument measuring a different construct, this suggests the instrument is actually measuring the participant's desire to be perceived favorably rather than the target construct (Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). In a study with a sample of 228 university students, Strahan and Gerbasi (1972) found the KR-20 reliability estimates ranged from 0.6 to 0.7 for the MC-1.

McClellan (2014) used the MC-1 to help determine discriminant validity with the APOS-2, and found the Pearson's correlation between the two scales was low and negative, which is preferable ($r = –.10$). Low correlation indicates that APOS-2 participants were not responding to items in a socially desirable manner, which is also preferable. The current study hopes to use the MC-1 to help evaluate discriminant validity and hypothesizes there will be a low correlation between the MC-1 and the proposed developmental social privilege integration scale.

Data Security. Data security procedures will be the same as Step Five in Phase I of this study. Once data is collected, the researcher will ensure participant data is stored on a secure and encrypted platform. Data collected from the surveys will be treated as the researcher's private information; as such, SurveyMonkey may not use, sell, rent, or otherwise share the information. The data will be retained on SurveyMonkey servers for five years and will then be destroyed and discarded. The researcher will also extract survey data from SurveyMonkey into an excel spreadsheet. This data will be handled with care and stored on a secure, password protected and

encrypted computer. As the collected data will be anonymous and de-identified, it will be archived and there is no anticipated destruction date. The data may be used to supplement future research on social privilege.

Step Eight: Psychometric Evaluation – Construct Validity

Exploratory Factor Analysis. This step will include using exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to provide evidence for construct validity. According to the APA (1954), construct validity is "the extent to which the test measures a theoretical construct" (as cited by Miller & Lovler, 2016, p. 239). Construct validity would thus provide evidence that the proposed test is measuring the target construct of social privilege integration. Factor analysis is a statistical procedure of investigating the correlation of underlying concepts or constructs that test items are measuring (Miller & Lovler, 2016). Factor analysis is also used to identify if the correlation between items "can be simply explained by a smaller number of underlying constructs, or factors." (Miller & Lovler, 2016, p. 250). Factor analysis can thus help to clarify the construct being measured and the number and types of items required to measure the construct. The current study will utilize EFA; the researcher will, therefore, not propose a formal hypothesis about factors or assume an underlying correlation. Instead, the research will use EFA to help identify and elucidate the underlying factors and correlations.

In order to perform EFA, the researcher will need to compute the correlations between all of the items on the developmental social privilege integration scale. The current study will use SPSS (IBM, 2015) to help conduct the EFA and follow Miller and Lovler's (2016) steps for completing an EFA. EFA finds clusters of items that correlate or factors, and each factor can become a subscale in the measure. Each item should correlate or load onto a factor or multiple factors, if an item does not, it should be removed.

For the current study, the researcher will examine the descriptive statistics of the data including univariate descriptives, initial solution, Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure and Bartlett's test of sphericity reproduced, and anti-image. A Principle axis factoring extraction and correlation matrix will be used. Preliminary interpretation will ensure the KMO Measure of Sampling Adequacy is at least 0.5 with 0.5–0.7 being mediocre, 0.7–0.8 is good, 0.8–09 is great, and 0.0 to 1 is superb (Miller & Lovler, 2016). Preliminary interpretation will also ensure Bartlett's Test of Sphericity is significant (< 0.05) and Anti-image Matrices diagonals are greater than 0.5 (Miller & Lovler, 2016). Factor extraction will use total Eigenvalues of greater than 0.1 and a scree plot to help confirm factors. For factor rotation, the researcher will interpret the pattern matrix and determine factor loadings greater than 0.4 and determine if items load onto one or more factors.

Discriminant Validity. Given that MC-1 data is being collected, the researcher will use participants MC-1 scores and compare them to scores for the developmental social privilege integration scale scores. The MC-1 measures the construct of social desirability, therefore, there should be a weak correlation between scores. A weak correlation will provide evidence for discriminant validity and construct validity.

Psychometric Evaluation Conclusion. The completion of Step Eight will help determine if the proposed scale is a valid and reliable measure for the construct of social privilege integration.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

This chapter describes the results of Steps One through Four of this study's methodology. This section will include the results of the first pool items developed by the focus group and the researcher, the second pool of items which include the results of the content evaluation panel, and the third pool of items which include the researcher's review of the items developed by this study. Finally, this chapter will review the finalized set of items which are ultimately intended to be used for the finished variation of DSPIS.

First Pool of Items

Focus Group Results

The results of the focus group produced 205 of items (see Appendix H**).** The six participants in the focus group wrote 41 items for Stage 1: critical exposure (see Appendix H). This stage can include experiences of comparative exposure and cognitive exposure; becoming critically aware of one's own social privilege by comparing oneself to another or learning about social privilege such as their sense of self and the world around them is called into question (Bergkamp et al., 2020). Thus, items ranged from describing comparative exposure and cognitive exposure. For example, "I have felt that a person with less privilege than me is being treated unfairly" (F-22), "I see examples of injustice when watching TV, reading books, or catching up on the news" (F-25), and "I've read books that make me think I have privilege" (F-33). Items also expressed experiences outside of the construct of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) Stage 1: critical exposure, such as "I believe a woman's role is to take care of children at home" (F-5) and "I'm comfortable going to a public bathroom" (F-31). These types of items might assess the experience of being socially privileged, but they do not capture the experience of becoming critically aware of social privilege through interactions with others or learning.

Participants wrote 66 items for Stage 2: identity threat (see Appendix H). Following a critical exposure, Stage 2 describes individuals feeling threatened by their newfound critical awareness of social privilege and can include two experiences, cognitive dissonance and affective dissonance. Cognitive dissonance is the experience of confusion about one's identity narrative and affective dissonance is characterized by the spectrum of emotions that someone might feel after becoming critically aware. Items, therefore, ranged from describing these two experiences. For example, "I suddenly doubt my own value relative to other people" (F-83), "I experience confusion about topics such as privilege" (F-53), "When others point out my privilege, I feel threatened" (F-96), and "I feel shame about my privileged position in society" (F-101). Some items such as "I'm not comfortable with women having equal rights" (F-87) and "I question if my White identity diminishes what I have accomplished" (F-81), also deviated from Bergkamp and colleagues' Stage 2: identity threat because they were too specific and focused on one type of privilege from ne social identity domain. Other items like "I get angry when people assume things about me just by looking at me" (F-71) and "I regret my previous thoughts about a group of people" (F-81) deviated because they described a different stage of the DSPIM (Stage 3 and 4 respectively).

The focus group wrote 56 items for Stage 3: identity protection (see Appendix H). After identity threat, identity protection is the impulse to protect one's identity narrative from the threat of social privilege. Stage 3 is comprised of three identity protection strategies: defense, dilution, and empty advocacy. Defense involves natural and emotional defensive reactions to a threat, dilution involves an intellectual distancing from the concept of social privilege, and empty advocacy includes experiences of performative allyship. Items ranged from "If people don't want to be treated differently, then they shouldn't act differently" (F-133), "Whether I have privilege

depends on the context I'm in and who I'm with" (F-159), and "It is important that I post advocacy material on social media during peak times so my friends will see the posts" (F-136). Participants also wrote items which deviated from Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) Stage 3 such as "They are just lazy" (F-150) and "Those people had it coming" (F-152) because they were too vague and could potentially measure a wide variety of thoughts, feelings, and experiences instead of social privilege integration, items like "When I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups, I wonder if I'm really helping them" (F-165) deviated from Stage 3 because they more accurately captured Stage 4's reconciliation.

Focus group participants also wrote 42 items for Stage 4: reconciliation (see Appendix H). This stage entails individuals reconciling their social privilege which can involve three experiences acceptance of social privilege, integration of social privilege awareness, and Agent to agent advocacy. The latter involves recognizing the need to support similarly privileged persons in their exploration of social privilege integration. Items ranged from "I'm learning to accept my privilege, not get rid of it" (F-183), "I recognize that silence can be an enaction of my privilege (silence is violence)" (F-170), and "I'm eager to help others explore their own privileges" (F-180). Items such as "I'm done looking for forgiveness" (F-179) and "I understand that there is no right or wrong way to handle tough situations" (F-175) deviated from Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) Stage 4 because they were too vague and could capture experiences outside of social privilege integration.

Researcher Addition Results

DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020) is intended to measure an individual's developmental integration of social privilege which can include general knowledge of social privilege and P. A. Hays's (2016) ADDRESSING Domains. After the Focus Group finished developing items for

the four stages of DSPIM, the researcher determined that the DSPIS should include items which attempts to measure a person's knowledge and awareness of social privilege for each social identity domain, specifically, what types of identities in an identity domain are considered to be privileged or not privileged. For example, for the identity domain of race and ethnicity, does an individual know that being White grants privilege whereas another race/ethnicity (Black, Asian, LatinX, biracial, etc.) does not? Or, does an individual recognize that heterosexuality grants privilege whereas any other sexual identity (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Queer, etc.) does not? With this purpose in mind, the researcher independently developed five items to measure general knowledge of social privilege and 18 items to measure awareness of social privilege in each ADDRESSING domain (see Appendix H).

For general knowledge and experiences of social privilege, items ranged from "Social privilege provides unearned advantages based on identity categories" (F-205) and "Because of my awareness of my privilege, I have lost relationships or experience tension in them" (F-209). For social identity domain awareness, items ranged from "Depending on their age, a person's age can grant privilege" (F-2010), "People who are White always have privilege" (F-215), "People who identify as Christian always have privilege" (F-214), and "People who identify as LGBTQIA+ do not have privilege" (F-220).

Overall, the first pool of items combined the focus group results (205 items) and the researcher addition results (23 items). There were, therefore, a total of 228 items in the first pool of items (see Appendix H). The researcher did not edit or remove any of the 228 items from the first pool and they were shared with the Content Evaluation Panel for their review.

Content Evaluation Panel

The content evaluation panel reduced the number of items from 228 to 166 (see Appendix I). The content evaluation panel was composed of two experts who rated each item as either *essential, useful but not essential,* or *not necessary*. The responses were then combined to calculate a content validity ration (CVR) which establishes the content validity of each item. The CVR determined whether the researcher retained or rejected the items. Given that there were only two experts on the content evaluation panel, items with a CVR of −1 were rejected and items with a CVR of 1 were retained and items with a CVR of 0 were reviewed by the researcher.

The two content evaluation panel experts identified 82 items with a CVR of 1.0. where both experts rated each item as *essential*. The experts rated nine items for Stage 1: critical exposure, 28 for Stage 2: identity threat, 16 for Stage 3: identity protection, 18 for Stage 4: reconciliation, three for general knowledge and experiences of social privilege, and eight for social identity domain awareness (see Appendix I**)**.

The experts also rated 62 items with a CVR of −1.0. 31 items were rated by both experts as *not necessary*, 12 items were rated by one expert as *useful but not necessary*, one *not necessary*, and 19 items were rated by both experts as *useful but not necessary*. Overall, 18 items from Stage 1: critical exposure received a −1.0 rating while 18 items from Stage 2: identity threat, 18 items from Stage 3: identity protection, seven items from Stage 4: reconciliation, one item from general knowledge and experiences of social privilege and 0 from social identity domain awareness received a −1.0 rating (see Appendix I).

The content evaluation panel experts additionally rated 84 items with a CVR of 0.0 where one expert rated an item as *essential* and the other as *useful but not necessary* for 65 items and

one expert rated an item as *essential* and the other as *not necessary* for 19 items. Overall, 14 items from Stage 1: critical exposure received a 0.0 rating while 20 items from Stage 2: identity threat, 22 items from Stage 3: identity protection, 17 items from Stage 4: reconciliation, one item for general knowledge and experiences of social privilege, and 10 items from Social Identity Domain Awareness received a 0.0 rating (see Appendix I**)**.

The two content evaluation panel experts gave 131 items the same rating and agreed for 57.26% of the 228 items. They agreed that 82 or 36.84% of the items were *essential*, 18 or 7.89% were *useful but not necessary*, 31 or 13.59% the items were *not necessary*. In contrast, the experts gave 97 items different ratings and disagreed 462.54% of the items. Experts showed the most disagreement when one panelist rated an item *essential* while the other panelist rated the same item *not necessary* for 19 items or 8.33% of items. Experts also showed disagreement when one panelist rated an item *essential* while the other rated the same item as *useful but not necessary* for 65 items or 28.51% of items and when one panelist rated an item a *useful but not necessary* while the other rated the same item as *not necessary* 12 items or 5.26% of items (see Appendix I).

The Content Evaluation panel is intended to measure the content validity of items and help determine which items should be retained or removed. The 62 items that received a CVR of −1.0 were rejected and the 82 items that received a unanimously rated CVR of 1.0 or *essential* were retained. 84 items were rated with a CVR 0.0 indicated that one expert rated the item as *essential* while the other rated the same item as *useful but not necessary* or *not necessary*. Due to the one *essential* rating and disagreement between the two panelists, these items were retained for further review by the researcher. After the 62 items that received a CVR of −1.0 were removed, the second pool of items from the content evaluation panel results included 166 items

(see CVR table). One hundred sixty-six items, or 72.81% of the 228 items originally developed by the focus group, were therefore retained. In addition, the content evaluation panel also suggested 53 of the 166 items or 31.93% be re-written or considered for a different DSPIM stage. The researcher reviewed the 166 items for edits and re-writes to help further refine the item pool.

Researcher Review

The researcher review was done in two parts. The first part included the researcher reviewing each item and indicating a recommendation/plan for each item. Recommendations ranged from rejecting an item, retaining an item as is, rewriting an item, moving an item to a different stage, or consolidating an item with another similar item. This review resulted in the third pool of items (see Appendix J) and reduced the total number of items from 166 to 147. The second part of the review included the researcher consolidating items, rewriting items, and adding new items to help measure aspects of DSPIM that existing items did not appear to do. This review resulted in the finalized pool of items and reduced the total number of items from 147 to 127 (see Appendix K).

Researcher Review Part I

The researcher review reduced the second pool of items from 166 to 147 (see Appendix J). Of the 166 items retained by the Content Evaluation Panel, the experts agreed about item ratings (both experts rated each item as *essential*), 49.40% of the time. Therefore, experts disagreed about item ratings (one expert rated an item as *essential* whereas the other rated the same item as *useful but not necessary* or *not necessary*) 50.60% of the time. Due to the Content Evaluation Panel exhibiting approximately 50% disagreement with regards to the *essential* utility

of items, the researcher determined it was critical to review the 166 retained items, especially the 84 items for which the experts rated differently.

In order to review the pool of 166 items, the researcher asked the following guiding questions about each item:

- Does the item capture an essential essence of the stage for which it was written? If not, does it capture an essential essence of another stage and need to be moved?
- Are there similar items measuring similar experiences that can be consolidated?
- Is the item too specific or too vague and need to be eliminated or rewritten?
- Is the question too long, difficult to read, or use excessively academic language and need to be eliminated or rewritten?

Depending on the answer to each question, the researcher recorded a recommendation or plan for an item; an item could be retained for the stage for which it was written, moved to a different stage, rewritten for clarity and ease of reading, consolidated with another item, or eliminated altogether.

The researcher reviewed the retained items and reduced the number of items from 166 to 147 (see Appendix J). Therefore, the researcher retained 88.55% of the items from the Content Evaluation Panel results and 64.47% of the 228 original items from the Focus Group. After review, the researcher retained 66 items or 78.57% of the 84 items that were rated by the Content Evaluation Panel with a CVR of 0.0 (see Appendix J).

For the 23 items written for Stage 1: critical exposure, one item was moved to Stage 1, four items were moved to Stage 3, 10 items were consolidated into four items, one item was retained as is, one was rewritten, and six items were eliminated (see Appendix J). For example, “I feel uncomfortable when I have to interact with someone different from myself” (R-4) was

moved to Stage 2 as it does not assess whether an individual has had a critical exposure, but instead appears to capture an experience of affective dissonance after critical exposure. In addition, “I have read a book or watched a movie that made me think about my privilege differently,” “I read a book that made me aware of the advantages I have by being (blank)” (R-12), and “I’ve read books that made me think I have privilege” (R-16) were consolidated into one finalized item, “I have read/listened to a book/watched an educational video that made me realize I have privilege due to one or more of my social identities” (Item 8). These items were consolidated because they capture a similar essence of Stage 1: critical exposure, namely that an individual can become critically aware of their social privilege by reading a book or watching a video about social privilege. Items such as “People treat me unfairly” (C-22; F-38) were removed for being too vague.

For the 48 items written for Stage 2: identity threat, two items were moved to Stage 1, 15 were moved to Stage 3, one was moved to Stage 4, and one was moved to General Knowledge and Experience of Social Privilege (see Appendix J). Nineteen items were consolidated into seven items, six items were rewritten, and four were eliminated (see Appendix J). For example, although originally written for Stage 2, “I had difficulties growing up, therefore I don’t have privilege” (R-39) was moved to Stage 3 as it did not appear to capture affective or cognitive dissonance but an experience of Stage 3’s defense. In addition, “I experience confusion about topics such as privilege” (R-27) and “I get confused about privilege” (R-52) were consolidated into the finalized item, “I’m confused about topics related to social privilege” (Item 10). These items were consolidated due to capturing similar experiences of confusion within Stage 2’s cognitive dissonance. Items such as “Homeless people are so sad, they could turn it around if they got a job” (C-71; F-107) were removed due to being to specific.

For the 38 items written for Stage 3: critical exposure, one item was moved to Stage 2 and three items were moved to Stage 4 (see Appendix J). Seventeen items were consolidated into 11, five items were rewritten, five were retained, and seven were eliminated (see Appendix J). For example, although originally written for Stage 3, “When I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups, I wonder if I’m really helping them” (R-91) was moved to Stage 4 as it did not capture an experience of defense, dilution, or empty advocacy, but instead seemed to assess the experience or reconciliation. In addition, items such as “Privilege is a democratic hoax” (R-77) and “Privilege is just a political agenda” (R-78) was consolidated into one finalized item, “The concept of social privilege is a democratic lie or hoax” (Item 32). These items were consolidated due to capturing similar experiences of Stage 3’s defense, specifically believing social privilege might be a means of pushing a political agenda or propaganda. Items such as, “When women where low cut shirts, they want my attention” (C-101; F-154) were eliminated due to being too specific while items such as, “I think sometimes that other people should follow my example when interacting with people who are different from them” (C-83; F-124) were eliminated due to being too vague.

For the 35 items written for Stage 4, reconciliation, no items were moved to different stages, 14 items were consolidated seven, 15 were rewritten, four were retained, and two items were eliminated (see Appendix J). For example, “I’m willing to accept loss as a way to reconstruct privileges” (R-110) and “I’m willing to lose power” (R-112) were consolidated into one finalized item, “I'm willing lose power from my social privilege to deconstruct oppressive systems” (Item 69). These items were consolidated due to capturing similar experiences of Stage 4, namely, a willingness to accept a loss of power to address oppressive systems. Items such as

"I'm done looking for forgiveness" (C-121; F-179) and "I understand that there is no right or wrong way to handle tough situations" (C-119; F-175) were eliminated for being too vague.

For four items written for General Knowledge and Experience of Social Privilege, all four items were retained and remained unchanged (see Appendix J). For the 18 items written for Awareness of Social Identity Domains, two items were consolidated into one item and 16 items were retained and remained unchanged (see Appendix J). For example, "People who come from a middle class background have privilege" (R-138) and "People who come from an upper middle class background have privilege" (R-139) were consolidated into on finalized item, "People who come from a middle class background have privilege" (Item 109). These items were consolidated because the researcher determined asking about middle SES rank would more accurately assess whether an individual knows who does or does not have privilege within the identity domain of SES; individuals are more likely to know that people with an Upper SES rank have privilege and, therefore, might not be a helpful measure of SES privilege awareness.

Researcher Review Part II

The researcher review reduced the second pool of items from 147 to 127 (see Appendix K). Items were reduced by removing and consolidating items. In addition, during the second review, the researcher determined it was necessary to include new items that measured aspects of DSPIM that had not yet been captured by existing items as well as capture the concept of DSPIM's conducive factors.

According to Bergkamp et al. (2020), in order to facilitate movement between stages particularly between Stage 3: identity protection and Stage 4: reconciliation, there are three types of conducive factors that are helpful: intrapersonal safety, interpersonal safety, and cognitive scaffolding. Items which captured these factors were not created by the Focus Group, therefore,

the researcher added 10 new items to reflect the conducive factors. Items such as “I’m confident that my core sense of self is resilient even in the face of new information that challenges” (Item 118), “I have had the support, guidance, mentorship, and/or friendship of a similar privileged person to help me with my own privilege awareness” (Item 122), and “I have taken a class/training and/or have read/listened to books that helped me understand the concept of privilege and related terms and definition” (Item 124) were written and added by the researcher. Of the 127 finalized items, the researcher added 10 new conducive factors items, three for intrapersonal safety, three for interpersonal safety, and four for cognitive scaffolding (see Appendix K**)**.

New items were also written for the four stages of DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020; see Appendix K**)**. New items were created to measure aspects of DSPIM that existing items did not already capture. To write these items, the researcher reviewed the DSPIM manuscript and model. The researcher also reviewed the items that were rated with a CVR of –1.0 by the Content Evaluation Panel, particularly those that both experts rated as “Useful but not necessary.” In addition, the researcher found inspiration from her own social privilege integration development, particularly during the year of 2021.

For Stage 1: critical exposure, the researcher wrote one new item for comparative exposure: “I realized I have privilege when I read/watched/learned of a story about someone being discriminated against because of their social identity and lack of privilege” (Item 4). This item was written because there were no existing items which captured the comparative experience of being exposed to a story of discrimination. With the addition of one new item, finalized Stage 1: critical exposure items were reduced from 23 items to eight; six for comparative exposure add two for cognitive exposure (see Appendix K**)**. For Stage 2: identity

protection, the researcher determined it was unnecessary to add new items. Finalized Stage 2: identity threat items were reduced from 48 to 14; five for cognitive dissonance and eight for affective dissonance (see Appendix K**)**.

For Stage 3: identity protection, the researcher created nine new items, two for defense, two for dilution, and five for empty advocacy. Items included, “Honestly, I’m uncomfortable with certain groups having equal rights” (Item 24). This addition was inspired by “I’m not comfortable with woman having equal rights” (F-87) which received a CVR of –1.0 due to being too specific. Items also included, “I have a close relationship with a someone who does not have privilege (person of color, woman, disabled, religious minority etc.) which is proof that I’m not racist/sexist/ableist etc.” (Item 44), which was inspired by “I’m not racist because most of my friends are people of color” (F-130) which received a CVR of –1.0 due to being too specific. The item, “I am shocked and surprised by hate crimes” (Item 52) was also added and was inspired by the observed reactions of some socially privileged people with whom the researcher interacted during the numerous murders of Black persons by police in 2020 and 2021 (Say Their Names). This item was added to capture privileged persons who are unaware of the day-to-day oppression marginalized groups experience and, therefore, find hate crimes surprising believing the reaction of shock is one of support. With the addition of nine new items, finalized Stage 3: identity protection items were reduced from 38 to 37; 12 for defense, 10 for dilution, and 15 for empty advocacy (see Appendix K**)**.

For Stage 4: reconciliation, the researcher added six new items, one for acceptance, four for integration, and one for agent to agent advocacy. Items included I know “I need to stop making excuses for my own social privilege guilt” (Item 70), which was inspired by “I’m done looking for forgiveness” (C-121; F-179). This item was rejected during Part I of the Researcher

Review for being too vague. The content evaluation panel also suggested this item be rewritten as “I know I need to stop assuaging my own social privilege guilt” however, the researcher believed the term “assuage” might be considered overly academic. During Part II of the researcher review, the finalized item was, therefore, created.

Four of the new items (Items 77, 78, 79, 93) that were added were inspired by Spanierman and Smiths’ (2017) six steps toward being a White ally. The researcher determined their six steps could be transformed into items to help measure reconciliation, specifically a socially privileged person’s awareness and ability to be an effective ally. Two items were also inspired by these six steps; however, the Focus Group had already created items which reflected the additional two steps (Items 76, 90). Examples of items inspired by Spanierman and Smith included, “To be an ally, I need to demonstrate a nuanced understanding of systemic privilege and oppression” (Item 77), “To be an ally, I should be responsible and committed to using my privilege to promote equity” (Item 78), “All allies should engage in actions that disrupt oppression” (Item 79), and “As an ally, I have or am prepared to encounter resistance from other privileged persons” (Item 93). With the addition of six new items, the number of finalized Stage 4 items was 35; 12 for acceptance, 17 for integration, and six for agent to agent advocacy (see Appendix K**)**.

For general knowledge and experience of social privilege, one new item was added: “I believe experiences of social privilege and oppression have been repeated throughout history” as none of the existing items captured the repetitive and cyclical nature of systemic issues of power, privilege, and oppression. With the addition of one new item, the general knowledge and experience of social privilege items were increased from four to six (see Appendix K**)**. No new items were added for awareness of social identity domains and the finalized results included 17

items; one for age, two for disability, two for religion, three for ethnicity/race, one for SES, one for sexuality, one for indigenous identity, two for nationality, and four for gender.

Summary of Results

The current study developed items for a future Developmental Social Privilege Integration Scale (DSPIS). A focus group of six participants developed an initial pool of 228 items (see Appendix H) which was then reviewed by a content evaluation panel made up of two experts. The content evaluation panel rated each item as *essential*, *useful but not necessary* or *not necessary* and a CVR was calculated. Items with a CVR of −1.0 were rejected and items with a CVR of 1.00 or 0.00 were retained for further review. This resulted in a second pool of items and the experts helped to reduce the items from 228 to 166 (see Appendix I). The researcher then independently reviewed the 166 items and created a third pool of 147 items (see Appendix J). She then reviewed and revised these items again reducing the finalized number of items to 127 (see Appendix K). Overall, the 127 items are intended to measure each stage of Bergkamp and colleagues' developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM; 2020): eight items for Stage 1: critical exposure, 14 items for identity threat, 37 items for identity protection, and 35 items for Stage 4: reconciliation. The items are also intended to measure the experience of DSPIM's conducive factors (10 items) as well as an individual's general knowledge and experience of social privilege (five items) and awareness of social identity domains (17 items).

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will first situate the purpose of this study in recent and relevant events. I will then describe the goals of the research, summarize the methodology, and review the results. Then, I discuss key findings and my interpretations of the results as well as the practical implications. I will then discuss the limitations of this study and conclude with recommendations for future research.

Situating in the Here and Now

Since this study was initiated in 2019, countless acts of hate, discrimination, racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, and oppression have occurred. Between 2019 and 2021, approximately 2,317 people were shot to death by police in the United States (Statista, 2021). Although 941 of the people were White, 538 were Black and 364 were Hispanic, and Black people accounted for approximately 23.22% of the deaths despite making up about 13% of the U.S. population (Mapping Police Violence, 2021; Statista, 2021). Police brutality has a long and pervasive history rooted in racism and slavery in the United States (Bor et al., 2018) such that "Black people are three times more likely to be killed by police than White people" (Mapping Police Violence, 2021) and "1.3x more likely to be unarmed than White people" (Mapping Police Violence, 2021). Most recently, Trayvon Martin (February 26, 2012), Elijah McClain, 23-years-old, (August 30, 2019), Ahmaud Arbery, 25-years-old (February 23, 2020), Breonna Taylor, 26-years-old (March 13, 2020), George Floyd, 46-years-old (May 25, 2020), Daunte Write, 20-years-old (April 11, 2022), M'Khaia Bryant, 16-years-old, (April 20, 2021) and too many others were murdered by police (Say Their Names, 2021).

With the COVID-19 pandemic, Asian hate crimes have also been on the rise, many of whom have targeted older Asian individuals. Between 2020 and 2021, Stop Asian American

Pacific Islander (AAPI) Hate reporting center recorded 3,795 hate incidents, 68.26% of which were verbal harassments, 20.5% shunning, 11.1% physical assaults, 8.5% civil rights violations, and 6.8% online harassments (Jeung et al., 2021). The reporting center highlights that Asian women are 2.3 times more likely to report an incident than men, and people of Chinese ethnicity were 42.2% more likely to report an incident compared to other Asian ethnicities (Jeung et al., 2021). According to Yam (2021a), since 2020, anti-Asian hate crimes have increased by almost 150%. Specific examples include an 84-year-old Thai immigrant who died after being physically assaulted in San Francisco, California on February 2021 (Cabral, 2021). A 92-year-old was "shoved to the pavement from behind" in Oakland, California, and an 89-year-old Chinese woman was slapped and set on fire in Brooklyn, New York (Cabral, 2021; Yam, 2021b). Most notably, on March 16, 2021, six women of Asian race/ethnicity, 5 of whom were Korean, were shot and murdered at their place of work at Atlanta-area spas due to increasing anti-Asian bias and hate (Fausset et al., 2021).

Other examples of discrimination and oppression include the illegal U.S. detainment of Mexican adults and children. Kavi (2021) reported approximately 445 migrant children had been separated from their families and were not yet found while numerous human rights and legal right are being violated. In addition, according to the Indian Law Resource Center (n.d.), "On some reservations, indigenous women are murdered at more than ten times the national average" (para. 1) and 96% of the assaults committed against indigenous women are perpetrated by non-native persons (Indian Law Resource Center, n.d.). As of March 2021, there have been "over 144 anti-trans bills" (Bailar, 2021, para. 1) in the United States, most of which target trans children who are already prone to higher rates of suicide and depression. Arkansas, Mississippi, and

Tennessee have already signed bills that ban transgender youth from participating in sports teams that are congruent with their gender identities (Krishnakumar, 2021).

In 2017, the APA published the "Multicultural Guide Lines: an Ecological Approach to Context, Identity, and Intersectionality" which, include 10 guidelines. While the guidelines cover a range of issues including intersectionality, cultural biases, the role of language, applying culturally adaptive interventions, advocacy, and adopting a developmental perspective, Guideline 5 specifically focuses on psychologists' need to understand issues of power, privilege, and oppression. Guideline 5 states:

> Psychologists aspire to recognize and understand historical and contemporary experiences with power, privilege, and oppression. As such, they seek to address institutional barriers and related inequities, disproportionalities, and disparities of law enforcement, administration of criminal justice, educational, mental health, and other systems as they seek to promote justice, human rights, and access to quality and equitable mental and behavioral health services. (APA, 2017, p. 4)

Echoing this perspective, Abrams (2021) notes that "Among those working to end racial injustice, a source of both hope and frustration is the strong body of research that psychologists have built on racial bias, discrimination and intergroup relation" (para. 7). Indeed, both the field of psychology and other professions can look to these groundbreaking studies including Kenneth and Mamie Clark's (1940) Doll Test, Muzafer Sherif's 1949–1954 The Boys Camp Studies, Phillip Zimbardo's 1971 Stanford Prison Experiment, Tony Greenwald's research and invention of the Implicit Attitude Test (IAT) in 1995, and Jennifer Eberhardt's research on racist culture of policing (Voigt et al., 2017). However, as Janet Helms (1984) suggested, although critical and abundantly valuable, psychologists have placed an inordinate emphasis on research about

oppressed groups. With the increase of both interpersonal and political or systemic oppressive acts, it is crucial for privileged persons to turn inward, think critically about their socially privileged positions, question their power, and do the work.

Goals of the Current Study

Case (2013) and D. J. Goodman (2015) described social privilege awareness as a means for not only addressing oppressive attitudes within oneself (e.g., racism, sexism, homophobia), but a means to address oppressive systems; if privileged persons in positions of power become more aware of their social privilege, they are less likely to enact oppressive laws and policies. It is, therefore, important to provide education, training, resources, and support to privileged persons so they can successfully engage in self-reflection about their positions of power, become more conscious of inherit and socialized biases, and increase their social privilege integration. Yet, what does this process look like and how do we know our education and training is effective?

A strength of psychology has been the field's commitment to developmental models. Numerous identity development models have been published, and several focusing on privileged identities. Most notably, Janet Helms developed the white racial identity model in 1984, which has been the most widely cited and applied model of White racial Identity development. Although not a developmental model, the self-reflections and work of Peggy McIntosh (1988) and DiAngelo (2016) also contributed to psychology's understanding of White racial identity development and White privilege. However, just as Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) suggested that intersectionality is an issue for multiple burdened persons, Case (2013, 2017) also proposed that social privilege operates in a similar fashion; a person can have multiple intersecting or

overlapping privileged identities, which can generate a greater lack of social privilege integration.

The APA's 2017 Multicultural Guidelines also highlight the intersectional quality of social identities. Guideline 1 states:

> Psychologists seek to recognize and understand that identity and self-definition are fluid and complex and that the interaction between the two is dynamic. To this end, psychologists appreciate that intersectionality is shaped by the multiplicity of the individual's social contexts. (APA, 2017, p. 4)

The Guidelines further explain that individual's identities are shaped by both privileged and oppressed identities and these intersections work dynamically. Several examples are provided including, "An older White/White American gay man from an upper middle class background is discriminated against because of his sexual orientation, but is privileged because of his dominant racial, gender, and social class statuses" (APA, 2017, p. 20). The APA's perspective on the intersection of privileged and oppressed identities reflects Case's (2013, 2017) standpoint, and P. A. Hays's (2016) ADDRESSING model is effective in demonstrating that a person cannot only have multiple oppressed social identities, but multiple privileged identities as well. The multiplicity of power, privilege, and oppression makes the work of social privilege integration exceptionally complex and, at times, confusing.

In their qualitative study, Bergkamp et al. (2020) interviewed 11 individuals about their social privilege integration. Using Grounded Theory, a developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM) emerged from their data which includes Four Stages of Social privilege integration development: Stage 1: critical exposure, Stage 2: identity threat, Stage 3: identity protection, and Stage 4: reconciliation. Unique to their model, Bergkamp et al. also

found four conducive factors that can facilitate movement between stages, especially Stage 3 and Stage 4. The four conducive factors are interpersonal safety, intrapersonal safety, cognitive scaffolding, and agent compassion.

Other models and measures related to privilege also exist including the social identity development model (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997), the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990), the White Racial Consciousness Development Scale (WRCDS; Claney & Parker, 1989), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), the Privilege and Oppression Inventory (POI; D. G. Hays et al., 2007), the Social Privilege Measure (SPM; Black et al., 2007), the Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale (APOS; Montross, 2003), and the Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale 2 (APOS-2; McClellan, 2014). However, in contrast to these examples, a strength of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) model is that it was developed through qualitative interviews and represent the lived experiences of individuals. Further, the model incorporates developmental theory.

In addition to emphasizing the need for psychologists to understand historical and contemporary experiences with power, privilege, and oppression as well as intersectionality, the APA's 2017 Multicultural Guidelines also encourage psychologists to adopt a developmental perspective. Guideline 8 states:

> Psychologists seek awareness and understanding of how developmental stages and life transitions intersect with the larger biosociocultural context, how identity evolves as a function of such intersections, and how these different socialization and maturation experiences influence worldview and identity. (APA, 2017, p. 5)

The Guidelines highlight the importance of understanding how an individual's identity changes over time from a developmental vantage. Furthermore, "Guideline 8 emphasizes the need to consider diverse clients within a developmental perspective, since their lives have proceeded along trajectories that reflect their unique confluence of culture, race, and social context" (APA, 2017, p. 78).

Given that Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM includes multiple stages, it reflects a developmental perspective specifically for the growth of social privilege integration. Although scores on existing measures represent development in that a higher score implies more awareness, what this means and how this manifest in the world is often unclear. An additional strength of Bergkamp and colleagues' model describes not only changes in knowledge and awareness, but changes in affect, cognition, and behaviors, as well as relationship with self and others. The researcher, therefore, determined that Bergkamp and colleagues' DSPIM was the ideal model for which to base a developmental social privilege awareness integration.

The goal of this study was to create a Developmental Social Privilege Integration Scale (DSPIS) based on Bergkamp and colleagues' developmental social privilege integration model (DSPIM). This study also hoped to answer the following questions: (a) Can the construct of social privilege integration as defined in this project be measured? (b) Does the development of social privilege integration differ from the development of privilege integration for one social identity domain? and (c) Is it possible to develop a valid and accurate measure of social privilege that also captures a developmental process and intersecting social identities?

Summary of Methodology

While a methodology for the creation of a full measure which included eight steps was originally proposed, the researcher completed Steps One through Four for this study:

1. Conceptualization and initial pool item pool development.
2. Literature review.
3. Creation of an item pool.
4. Content validity.

The scope of this study only included Steps One through Four, or the creation and content validity of the item pool, due to restrictions around the researcher's time and finances. The researcher hopes to complete Steps Five through Eight at a future time.

For Step One: Conceptualization and Initial Item Pool Development, the researcher identified relevant subconstructs and the target construct, social privilege integration. For Step Two: Literature Review, the researcher conducted a thorough literature review about social privilege integration and related subconstructs. The researcher also contributed to development of Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM and conducted an extensive literature review for their research as well.

For Step Three, Creation of an Item Pool, the researcher recruited six participants for a focus group. Before the focus group was conducted, the researcher provided a didactic on Zoom about social privilege integration and DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020). A didactic was provided (see Appendix C) because the goal of the study was to develop a developmental social privilege measure based on Bergkamp and colleagues' DSPIM stages, which is new research and not common knowledge. During the focus group which occurred on Zoom, the researcher led participants through an activity (see Appendix D) which encouraged participants identify and reflect on their social location. The goal of this exercise was to help participants increase their self-awareness and feel closer to their own experiences and memories of social privilege integration. The researcher then reviewed information about Stage 1: critical exposure of the

DSPIM stage before providing 10 minutes for participants to individually write items. After 10 minutes, participants were asked to regroup and share items they wrote. During this time the researcher asked questions about their writing process, the experiences that informed their items, and their choice of language. Participants were also inspired by each other and modified or added to their list of items. This process of reviewing information about a DSPIM stage, allowing 10 minutes for writing then regrouping, was repeated for all four stages of DSPIM. After the focus group ended, the researcher also added items that captured general knowledge and experiences of social privilege integration and awareness of social identity domains. Step 3 produced a total of 228 items (see Appendix H).

For Step Four: Content Validity, the participant recruited two experts for a content validity panel. The experts rated each of the 228 items as either *essential*, *useful but not necessary*, and *not necessary*. The ratings produced a content validity ratio (CVR) for each item that ranged from –1.0, 0.0, or 1.0. 61 items had a CVR or –1.0 which were rejected and removed from the item pool which resulted in a second pool of 166 items (see Appendix I). However, due to approximately 50% disagreement in the essential nature of items that had a CVR of 0.0 or 1.0, the researcher independently reviewed the remaining 166 remaining items that had a CVR of 0.0 or 1.0. This review resulted in a third pool of items (see Appendix J) and a finalized pool of 127 items (see Appendix K).

Key Findings and Interpretations

Although the researcher was not able to collect statistical data about the items developed from this study, the process of item development helped to uncover valuable information about the construct of social privilege integration and Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM. Key findings include similarities between Stage 2 and Stage 3 of the DSPIM model, obscurity in the

essential nature of items, and parallels between Stage 3 and a pre-awareness of social privilege. Key findings also highlight the new and novel nature of DSPIM, and how experiences of DSPIM might be highly individual and dependent on social location.

Similarities Between Stage 2 and Stage 3 of DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020)

During initial item pool development, Clark and Watson (1995) encourage researchers to create a diverse pool of items that fall outside of what the researchers' ideas and assumptions of the target construct. Although this helped to create a large pool of items, it is important to note the number of items that were specifically written for a stage that were later deemed more appropriate for a different stage by the content evaluation panel or this researcher. The Content Evaluation Panel suggested 22 of 166 items (see Appendix I), or 13.25% be moved to a different stage while the researcher identified 28 of 147 (see Appendix J), or 19.05% be moved to a different stage during their independent review. Results indicate that two items were moved from Stage 2 to Stage 1 while 1 item was moved from Stage 1 to Stage 2. Stage 3 had the most movement of items. Four items from Stage 1 and 14 items from Stage 2 were moved to Stage 3. Ultimately, 12 of 37 Stage 3 items, or 32.43%, were created from items moved from different stages. Given that the majority of moved items were moved from Stage 2 to Stage 3, this might indicate an ambiguity or lack of distinguishment between the stages.

In their explanation of Stage 2, Bergkamp et al. (2020) described identity threat as a stage that occurs because social privilege is experienced as threat to an individual's identity narrative. As a result of this threat, individuals experience dissonance, or "an incongruence between previously held beliefs, ideas, and values" (Bergkamp et al., 2020, p. 12). Dissonance might also be experienced because of a conflict between an individual's internal sense of self versus their external identity perceived by others. Bergkamp et al. (2020) stated, "In most cases, participants

did not like to be seen with privilege, as it was felt to minimize their individuality" (p. 13). Identity threat contains cognitive dissonance, which involves the realization of how others are possessed while oneself possess social privilege, and affective dissonance which involves feeling uncomfortable emptions such as guilt and shame about the benefits, advantages, and power afforded by having social privilege.

In contrast, Bergkamp et al. (2020) described Stage 3: identity protection as a stage that occurs to protect individuals from the cognitive and affective dissonance of Stage 2. This is done by relying on "dominant hegemonic concepts and beliefs to self-sooth and hedge the perceived risks of privilege awareness" (Bergkamp et al., 2020, p. 14). These strategies are described as "often automatic and unconscious response to identity threat" (Bergkamp et al., 2020, p. 14) and can include affective, cognitive, or behavioral means of self-soothing. Identity protection includes defense, a "protective strategy that is cauterized by high emotionality while, cognitively relying on the hegemonic views that scaffolded previous dioeciousness" (Bergkamp et al., 2020, p. 15). Identity protection also involves dilution, a strategy individuals engage in by distancing themselves from social privilege by focusing on their oppressed identity, questioning their benefit from oppression or the reality of social privilege altogether. Identity protection additionally includes empty advocacy, a self-soothing strategy characterized by an individual's efforts to help those less fortunate, but these efforts lack social privilege integration and are pursued with the hopes of alleviating feelings of guilt and shame about their social privilege.

Although Stage 2 and Stage 3 represent different experiences in the development of social privilege integration, there are several overlapping components. For example, both affective dissonance and defense are characterized as experiences in which an individual feels discomfort, anger, guilt, shame. Further, Bergkamp et al. (2020) described the conflict between

internal and external identities during identity threat as one that might be perceived as a type of "reverse-racism or other ism" (p. 13). Similarly, because dilution might result in an individual arguing the subjectivity of both oppressed and privileged experiences, Bergkamp et al. also described dilution as one that might result in statements or claims of "reverse-racism" or other isms. When both identity threat and identity protection can be stages in which an individual experiences uncomfortable emotions socialized oppressive thoughts and behaviors (e.g., racism), this makes it more difficult to identify and measure which of these DSPIM stages individuals are in.

Overlap between Stage 2 and Stage 3 is likely why items such as, " I feel angry when people say I have privilege because I worked hard to get where I am" (R-28), "I get angry when people assume things about me just by looking at me" (R-38), and "I feel offended when people criticize individualism" (R-33) were originally written for Stage 2's affective dissonance but were later moved to Stage 3's defense (R-28 & R-38) and dilution (R-33). During item development, one way in which the researcher attempted to resolve the overlapping nature of Stage 1 and 2 was by conceptualizing identity threat as an immediate "knee-jerk" cognitive or affective reaction to the threat of social identity; so if an item included a more sophisticated reason or explanation for a thought, feeling, or behavior, the researcher assumed this was indicative of a Stage 3 experience. Thus, "I feel angry about my social privilege" (Item 18) for affective dissonance represents more of what Bergkamp et al. (2020) described as a "knee-jerk" reaction to social privilege compared to "I feel angry/upset when people say I have social privilege because I worked hard to get where I am" (Item 23) for defense. The latter item describes more thought and explanation as part of an individual's self-soothing and protective

strategy. Although both items involve feelings of anger, they can clearly represent different DSPIM stages.

Obscurity in the "Essential" Nature of Items

Another key finding was collected from the process of item development. Specifically, the results of the Content Evaluation Panel indicated that after 62 items with a CVR of –1.0 were removed, the experts agreed about item ratings (both experts rated each item as *essential*) 49.40% of the time. In contrast, experts disagreed about item ratings (on expert rated an item as *essential* while the other rated the same items as *useful but not necessary* or *not necessary*) 50.60% of the time. This result shows that the Content Evaluation Panel disagreed about item ratings over 50% of the time which indicate the essential nature of items is obscured. There are likely several reasons there is uncertainty about what is or is not essential in measuring each stage of DSPIM.

First, although the Content Evaluation panel consisted of two individuals who contributed to Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM and are considered to be experts on the model, both experts have different social locations. Briefly, one expert identifies as a cis-gender male and as a Person of Color while the other expert identifies as a cis-gender female of White race/ethnicity. While both experts have additional privileged social identities, just their social identity domains of gender identity, gender assigned at birth, and race/ethnicity indicate they both have different social locations. In their manuscript, Bergkamp et al. (2020) described Stage 3: identity protection and stated, "Each participant's attempts at protection was idiosyncratic and influenced by their personality, identity narrative, and inherited worldview" (p. 14). Bergkamp et al. thus suggest that each person's individual differences, informed by personality and social location, shape their developmental experience of social privilege integration. Consequently, the two

experts likely have distinct experiences and understandings of DSPIM which might have contributed to their disagreeing in the essentiality of items over 50% of the time.

Second, in addition to the experts having different social locations, the experts might have also been dissimilar in their personal developmental social privilege integration. The experts are likely at different stages of social privilege integration and might have moved through the stages for different social identities. For example, one expert might have greater development of social privilege integration about their national identity privilege while the other is more developed in their cis-gender privilege. The very nature of social privilege is that it can conceal the unearned benefits and advantages and ways in which we participate in oppression from ourselves; therefore, the experts likely have different vantage points in determining what is or is not essential for DSPIM due to their differing social privilege integration development.

Further complicating their varied development in social privilege integration, the experts also have different oppressed identities. Considerable researcher in psychology suggests that individuals move through different stages of identity development for their oppressed identities. Most notably, Cross's Black identity development (1971) Atkinson and colleagues' (1993) minority racial identity development, as well as research and models on multiracial and biracial identity development (Poston, 1990; Rockquemore et al., 2009; Root, 1990). Given their multiplicity of privileged and oppressed social identities, the experts' developmental stage in their oppressed identities likely influenced and mediated their developmental stage in their social privilege integration. This might help to explain why, for DSPIS social identity domain integration items, one expert rated "People who identify with their gender which was assigned at birth (cis-gender) have privilege" (Item 115) as *essential* while the other did not. Or, why one

expert rated “Depending ono their age, a person’s age can grant privilege” (Item 101) while the other did not.

Third and finally, there is likely a degree of inherit obscurity between the different DSPIM stages. Bergkamp et al. (2020) describe each stage as a full experience that includes a unique combination of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. For example, Stage 1: critical exposure might include a feeling of being violated by one’s critical integration of social privilege. For Stage 1: identity threat, cognitive dissonance can consist of a “paradox of privilege” in which a person wants to rid themselves of social privilege integration but also keep it due to the power, benefits, and advantages granted by their privilege. For Stage 3: identity protection, defense can be influenced by a desire to maintain the myth of meritocracy, the belief that society is just and fair. For Stage 4: reconciliation, acceptance involves both an acceptance of one’s social privilege and accompanying guilt or shame and an acceptance that it can coexist with compassion for self and others. In each of these examples, there are aspects of the DSPIM stages which are challenging to accurately and succinctly describe. While this points to the robust character of DSPIM, it likely also contributes to degrees of overlap and obscurity between the DSPIM stages.

Parallels Between Defense and Pre-Awareness of Social Privilege

Several existing identity measures such as Atkinson and colleagues’ (1983) minority racial identity development model and M. J. Bennett’s (1986) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity include an initial stage characterized by pre-awareness that encompasses experiences before the awareness one’s identity or social positioning. While DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020) does not have a pre-awareness stage, results suggest there might be some confusion between the experience of Stage 3: defense and a pre-awareness of social privilege. In their manuscript, Bergkamp et al. (2020) described the experience of defense:

> When experiencing defense, an individual demonstrates feelings of fear, guilt, and anger which can often manifest as overt or covert expressions of racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, or other isms. An overt expression would be clear interpersonal violence or discrimination and a covert expression would be a microaggression of which the aggressor is "unaware." Defense might also involve victim blaming; in an effort to divert responsibility, an individual uses oppressed persons or groups as a scapegoat for their strong reactive emotionality. (p. 16)

Bergkamp et al. suggested that an individual in the defense stage might express overt or covert isms, unknowingly commit microaggressions, or blame oppressed persons for their own problems, ignoring issues of systemic oppression.

While Trump's presidential campaigns and presidency provided anecdotal evidence, Kivel (2011) described these behaviors as indicators for a lack of social privilege. Thus, developmental social privilege integration scale items for defense might inaccurately measure an individual's pre-awareness of social privilege. This might be reconciled by ensuring that if an individual endorses defense items, they also endorse Stage 1: critical exposure items as this would indicate they have previously had experiences of becoming critically aware of social privilege. However, Bergkamp et al. (2020) reported that in their study, "Participants commonly recalled being exposed to privilege differences multiple times throughout their childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Yet, most of these exposures did not result in a critical exposure" (p. 8). In order for a person to have a critical exposure, the barriers of dysconsicousness must be shattered. There is, therefore, a risk that an individual incorrectly endorse critical exposure items due to their repeated exposures, which might in turn affect the meaning and value of defense items endorsed by that individual.

Implications of Results

The results of this study produced a pool of 127 items for the future analysis and validation of the Developmental Social Privilege Integration Scale (DSPIS) and this section discusses the implications of these results. Although data was not collected on the items themselves, the items reveal that that DSPIS shares similarities with existing measures of variations of privilege integration including the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) and PCRW (Spanireman & Heppner, 2004). The results also indicate that the DSPIS diverges from the APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014) which measures awareness of privilege and oppression. I will then discuss the ways in which the results of the current study contribute to the growing body of literature about social privilege integration, especially by highlighting both the strengths and challenges of measuring the developmental process of social privilege integration. Finally, I will discuss the practical implications of the results of this study.

Similarities Between DSPIS Items and WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990)

One of the research questions for this study is: Does the developmental social privilege integration differ from the development of privilege integration for one social identity domain? One of the most prominent measures of privilege is Janet Helms' White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990), which is based on her White racial identity development model (Helms, 1984). The WRIAS is a 50-item measure of White racial identity attitude and utilizes a 5-point Likert scale anchored in 1, *strongly disagree* and 5, *strongly agree* with 3 characterized as *uncertain*. The WRIDM (Helms, 1984) and DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020) have several theoretical similarities which are likely reflected in similarities of items in their corresponding scales. For example, for the WRIDM's first stage, Contact and DSPIM's critical exposure, both capture an initial encounter with another person that can occur through direct

contact or by becoming intellectually informed of the other person. In addition, both stages describe an experience in which the privileged person has their privileged identity system penetrated or punctured such that they become aware of their awareness of Whiteness or social privilege.

Similarities between the WRIDM (Helms, 1984) and DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020) can also be found in WRIDM's second stage, disintegration, and DSPIM's identity threat. Both authors describe an experiencing of having a dilemma about one's sense of self and the world around them. Helms' third stage of WRIDM, reintegration, also mirrors DSPIM's identity protection's defense as both are described as experiences of anxiety, guilt, and or avoidance that manifest as an outward expression of fear or anger toward Black or non-privileged peoples. Helms' fourth stage of WRIDM, pseudo-independence, also resembles DSPIM's identity protection's empty advocacy as both are characterized by an attempt to redefine their Whiteness are social privilege but not in a positive or fully aware manner. Finally, the fifth stage of WRIDM, Autonomy, is similar to DSPIM's reconciliation because both stages are described one in which a White or privileged person internalizes an anti-oppressive identity and recognizes that their development as a privileged person is an ongoing process.

Given these similarities between Helms (1984) WRIDM and Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM, unsurprisingly, the results of this study produced similar items to Helms and Carter's (1990) WRIAS. For example, WRIAS Item 28 "Society may have been unjust to Blacks, but it has also been unjust to Whites" (p. 251) is akin to the DSPIS item "I had difficulties growing up, therefore I don't have social privilege" (Item 33) as both appear to measure the feeling that one's Whiteness or social privilege should not be fully associated with unearned benefits and advantages. Similarly, WRIAS Item 23 "White people have bent over

backwards trying to make up for their ancestors' mistreatment of Blacks, now it is time stop" (p. 251) and WRIAS Item 47 "I don't understand why Black people blame all White people for their social misfortunes" (p. 251) is comparable to the DSPIS item "It's unfair that I am expected to take responsibility for different Isms/oppression because I'm privileged, I'm just one person" (Item 39); all of these items seem to measure the feeling that it is unfair for one to be held solely accountable for the oppression of others.

Other similarities in items between the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) and DSPIS include WRIAS Item 36 "I was raised to believe that people are people regardless of their race" (p. 251), which is like DSPIS item "I don't see differences because we're all human" (Item 41) as both capture the belief that difference in power and privilege do not exist and all humans are equal. Likewise, WRIAS Item 37, "Nowadays, I go out of my way to avoid associating with Blacks" (p. 251) or WRIAS Item 12, "I do not feel that I have the social skills to interact with Black people effectively" (p. 250) are reflective of DSPIS item "I feel uncomfortable when I have to interact with someone with less privilege than myself" (Item 21), "I'm confused about how to interact with people who have less privilege than me" (Item 9), "I'm so afraid to offend less privileged people that I avoid interacting with them" (Item 53), and "I'm afraid of offending people who have less privilege than me" (Item 54), all of which describe a discomfort interacting with Black or less privileged people.

In addition, the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) Item 38, "I believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites" (p. 251), is akin to "History has shown that some groups of people (e.g., White, educated, American-born citizens) are better than others" (Item 28), both of which capture a person's belief of supremacy in their being White or socially privileged. WRIAS Item 17, "I used to believe in racial integration, but now I have my doubts" (Helms & Carter, 1990, p.

250), is reflective of DSPIS item, “My social privilege did not seem to be an issue until recently, so I doubt why it is so important now” (Item 37) and “Social privilege is so subjective and complicated that I sometimes doubt it even exists” (Item 36); these items describe an initial awareness of Whiteness or social privilege but reflect a retreat into a self-soothing strategy to help alleviate the discomfort of awareness.

Despite the similarities in items between the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) and DSPIS, a significant difference between the measures is that the WRIAS measures development of White racial identity attitude or White privilege awareness whereas the DSPIS is intended to measure development of social privilege integration for all social identity domains including race/ethnicity. Thus, the DSPIS items intend to incorporate experiences of racial/ethnicity privilege integration which, naturally would establish similarities with Helms and Carter’s WRIAS. Further, similarities might be indicative of convergent validity of the DSPIS.

Similarities Between DSPIS Items and PCRW Items (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004)

The WRIAS, Spanierman and Heppner (2004) Psychosocial Costs to Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW) is a 36-item self-report scale utilizing a 6-point Likert-scale anchored in 1 (*strongly disagree*) 6 (*strongly agree*) which aims to measure experiences of loss for White persons’ who hold racist attitudes. These losses, or costs to racism, include affective costs, cognitive costs, and behavioral costs. Affective costs range from Whites’ experiences of anxiety and fear toward Black people or losing their White racial privilege. Affective costs might also include feelings of anger, sadness, apathy, and helplessness about the existence of racism, lack of ability to resolve racism, as well as feelings of guilt and shame about White privilege. Cognitive costs might include distortions of self, others, and reality due to racism and behavioral costs can

range from limited social interactions with People of Color and fellow White individuals due to Racism.

The target construct of the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), psychosocial costs of racism to Whites, is different than social privilege integration. However, both measures intend to capture varying levels of privilege awareness especially since higher scores on the PCRW suggest a greater experience of psychosocial costs to racism, which implies a higher awareness of racism and, therefore, White privilege. Also, although the DSPIS aims to measure social privilege integration, the scale intends to capture racial privilege awareness as well. In addition, like the PCRW, DPAS also conceptualizes different experiences of social privilege identity development within the categories of affect, cognitions, and behaviors.

Given these theoretical parallels, some similarities between PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) and DSPIS items appear to exist. For example, PRCW Item 5, “Sometimes I feel guilty about being White” (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004, p. 94) is akin to DSPIS item, “I feel shame and/or guilt about my social privilege” (Item 16) as both measure feelings of guilt related to a privileged identity. Similarly, PCRW Item 8, “I become sad when I think about racial injustice” (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004, p. 94) is comparable to DSPIS items, “I feel sad about my social privilege” (Item 17) and “I feel sad/angry/guilt/shame when I think about what I have because of my social privilege compared to others” (Item 20), as all of the items capture feelings of sadness related to the inequality of having a privileged identity.

PRCW Item 15, “My achievements are totally due to merit, and not my advantages as a White person” (p. 94) is similar to DSPIS item, “I feel angry/upset when people say I have social privilege because I worked hard to get where I am” (Item 23) as both measure the belief that one’s individual successes are solely due to their own efforts and not their social location.

Finally, PRCW Item 16, “Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism” (p. 94) is similar to “I feel annoyed/angry that I am asked to take responsibility for historical events like slavery or colonialism, I wasn't even born then” (Item 25) because both items capture the feeling that being White or privileged makes you personally responsible for racism or oppression.

Despite their similarities, the PRCW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) and DSPIS are different in that they measure different constructs, psychosocial costs of racism to Whites and social privilege integration development, respectively. However, given some of the overlap in their constructs, the PRCW might help to establish convergent validity for specific items in the future.

Similarities Between DSPIS Items and APOS-2 Items (McClellan, 2014)

Given that the APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014) and the DSPIS aim to measure similar constructs, social privilege, one might expect that the two measures share similar items. However, given that the APOS-2’s operationalization of social privilege awareness focused more on knowledge of social privilege compared to experiences of social privilege awareness, there appear to be considerable divergence between APOS-2 and DSPIS items. Furthermore, items for the APOOSS-2 were written about each specific identity domain, Race, Gender, Sexual Orientation/Identity, and SES whereas the items for DSPIS were written about social privilege in general and did not specify or separate out experiences for different social identity domains. There are, therefore, no notably similar items between the APOS-2 and DSPIS. Examples of APOS-2 items include Item 11 “Women are better suited to stay at home to raise children than men” (McClellan, 2014, p. 269), Item 19 “People of Color experience high levels of stress because of the discrimination they face” (McClellan, 2014, p. 269), Item 27 “A person from an affluent family has a greater chance to earn a college degree than an individual from a poor

family" (McClellan, 2014, p. 270), and Item 36 "Some hiring officials may not hire gay or lesbian workers to avoid negative reactions from customers" (McClellan, 2014, p. 270).

While the two measures' items are distinctly different, the APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014) items are most reflective of the social identity domain awareness items for DSPIS. Examples of these items include, "Women sometimes have more privilege than men depending on the context" (Item 117), "People who are White always have privilege" (Item 106), "People who come from a middle class background have privilege" (Item 109), and "People who identify as LGBTQIA+ do not have privilege" (Item 110).

The APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014) items and the DSPIS social identity domain items captures more knowledge-based or fact based information about social privilege. Thus, based on their responses, an individual might appear to have a high level of social privilege awareness; however, while they might be able to intellectually respond in a socially aware way, individuals might not have experienced the affective and personal changes that DSPIM asserts is inherently part of social privilege integration development and DSPIS aims to measure.

Contributions to Existing Literature

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, at this time, a measure of developmental social privilege integration that captures the experiences of intersecting social identities does not exist. While existing instruments currently measure constructs including the White Racial Identity Development (WRIAS) and Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), these instruments focus on the privileged experiences and awareness of racial identity. While scales that aim to measure social privilege awareness such as the Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale 2 (APOS-2; McClellan, 2014), the Privilege and Oppression

Inventory (POI; D. G. Hays et al., 2007), and the Social Privilege Measure (SPM; Black et al., 2007) also exist, there are several limitations of each these existing instruments.

First, the instruments define and measure the construct of social privilege integration in a restrictive and narrow fashion by specifically centering on awareness of social privilege granted from one or several social identities domains. The APA Multicultural Guidelines (2017) and scholars such as Collins (1990) and Dill and Zambrana (2009 as cited by Case, 2013, 2017) have found privileged social identities overlap and interact with marginalized or oppressed social identities. Further, P. A. Hays's (2016) ADDRESSING model demonstrates individuals can have up to 10 intersecting social identity domains each of which can be either an oppressed or privileged identity. Existing instruments, therefore, measure a limited scope of social privilege integration in that they do not cover the full spectrum of social identity domains.

A second limitation, with the exception of the WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) which was model after the WRIDM (Helms, 1984), is that the primary methodology for item development for prevailing instruments was not informed by existing models of social privilege integration. While this does not appear to have affected the psychometric integrity of the instruments, the items might not accurately capture the full human experience of social privilege integration development because items were created deductively or a priori.

Third and finally, a limitation of many of the existing social privilege integration instruments is that they focus exclusively on the awareness of social privilege and not the integration of social privilege awareness which, results in a self-transformation. The instruments do not encapsulate the affective developmental experience and self-transformation inherent in social privilege integration. While the scoring mechanism of measures such as the APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014), POI (D. G. Hays et al., 2007), and SPM (Black et al., 2007) indicate a

developmental theory in that a higher score demonstrates greater privilege awareness, the measures themselves rely on the assumption that social privilege awareness development consists of the accumulation of knowledge and understanding of the fact of social privilege. The scholarly work of Bergkamp et al. (2020), Wise and Case (2013), Helms (1984), McIntosh (1988) and others indicate that the development social privilege integration entails experiences of defensiveness and feelings of shame, guilt, anger, fear, and sadness, as well as hopelessness. Social privilege integration involves a transformation of self at an affective, cognitive, and behavioral level, and also a transformation in the way one interacts with the world.

The APA Multicultural Guidelines (2017) suggested "identity and self-definition are fluid and complex" (p. 4) and in their manuscript, Bergkamp et al. (2020) reported that "The critical awareness of social privilege as a direct corollary to oppression can be highly disruptive to an individual's identity" (p. 11) as it challenges "every domain of personhood from relationships and accomplishments to morals and values" (p. 12). Therefore, the development of social privilege integration will not only comprise an accumulation of knowledge and understanding, but changes in affect, behaviors, and personhood. In Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) study, participants described experiencing tension between their internal and external identities as social privilege penetrated their dysconsciousness and transformed their sense of self. This transformation resulted in changes to their relational world that echo Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) psychosocial costs of racism to Whites; participants described loss of relationship, particularly with friends and family as they became increasingly aware of their social privilege. While these integral changes are core to the experience of social privilege integration, they are not fully captured within the existing measures.

The current study aimed to construct a measure that addresses the aforementioned limitations of existing social privilege integration measures. Given that the items were developed in the hopes of addressing these limitations and were modeled after Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM, the researcher hopes the 127 items (see Appendix K) produced from this study will more accurately measure the development of social privilege integration.

In addition to producing items that reflect a more full definition of social privilege, the results also helped to elucidate the complexities of operationalizing social privilege integration. For example, this study found that both the focus group that developed the initial pool of 228 items and the content evaluation panel had some difficulty identifying whether items belonged in Stage 2: identity threat or Stage 3: identity protection. This is likely attributed to both the stages containing similar uncomfortable feelings ranging from anxiety, anger, sadness, guilt, and shame. This result suggests that it is likely important to distinguish different developmental stages of social privilege integration beyond affective states as at least two of the stages are partially defined by experiencing uncomfortable feelings.

In addition, this study found that the content evaluation panel had approximately 50% disagreement in the essential nature of items. This result likely emphasizes the overlapping nature of the developmental stages of social privilege integration. However, it also points to the fundamentally personal and individual character of social privilege integration. The development of social privilege integration is informed by each person's unique social locations made up of a multiplicity of privileged and oppressed social identities (Bergkamp et al., 2020; Case, 2017; Wise & Case, 2013). This finding suggests that it is highly important to consider both researchers' and participants' social locations in any and all research associated with social privilege integration and similar constructs.

Another finding of the current study includes a parallel between experiences of social privilege integration development and a pre-awareness of social privilege. Some of the items developed for Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) Stage 3: identity protection, specifically defense, are imbued with feelings of anger and include expressions of superiority related to a privileged social identity domain and beliefs that echo racism, sexism, and other isms. Such expressions can also represent a person's pre-awareness of social privilege. This finding, therefore, suggests that it is important to distinguish between a pre-awareness or defense stage of social privilege integration development as the implications and experiences of both are vastly different.

Finally, the results help to contribute to a body of literature that promotes the normativity of social privilege integration development. Inspired by their many years of teaching, Wise and Case (2013) encouraged pedagogy for privileged persons too be delivered in a manner that does not shame or blame. They assert social privilege integration can be fraught with obstacles including feeling defensive, personally judged, guilt, shame, blamed for others suffering, feelings of entitlement, or a fear of loss of privilege, and hopelessness in the face of injustice. Items based on Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM helps to highlight the common and human experiences of social privilege integration that can leave individuals with "that icky feeling of not recognizing you are benefiting from something" and feeling "gross and dirty" (p. 14). The results of this study, therefore, help to increase compassion for the developmental growing pains of social privilege integration which, in turn, will hopefully help to encourage and support privileged persons in their unending social privilege integration journeys.

Practical Implications of the Results

Given the changing demographics of the American community, increasing exposure of historical and contemporary injustices, as well as the current backdrop of social justice uprisings like Black Lives Matters (Demby, 2020), efforts toward helping individuals effectively increase social privilege integration are critical in psychological research. The future goal of this research is to perform an item analysis on the finalized pool of 127 items that are the result of this study (see Appendix K), then validate the measure using exploratory or confirmatory factor analysis. The results of this study have several practical implications especially for the field of psychological practice and research, education, and professions outside of psychology.

Implications for Psychological Practice

Case (2013, 2017) and D. J. Goodman (2015) argued that social privilege awareness provides a pathway to addressing oppressive interpersonal patterns and systems. Given that approximately 83% of the psychology workforce are White (APA, 2020), it is especially critical to be able to support the social privilege integration development of both current and future psychologists. An instrument that accurately measures social privilege integration, such as the future edition of DSPIS, can be administered to current and incoming trainees in the field of psychology to help identify stages of social privilege integration and promote as well as track further development.

Introducing instruments that measure social privilege integration development to psychological practice and research would represent a fundamental paradigm shift. There are a lack of standards and guidelines for social justice practice in clinical psychology and practical applications for psychotherapy, assessment, and clinical practice. Although psychologists are encouraged reflect on their biases, political viewpoints, and personal values, there is little to no

expectation for privileged psychologists to actively engage in their own social privilege integration development. A lack of social privilege integration can result not only in overt enactments of isms but covert isms including microaggressions that can be perpetrated unconsciously or without awareness (Owen et al., 2019; Sue et al., 2007).

According to Owen et al. (2019), about 43–81% of clients reported experiencing at last one racial-ethnic microaggression and only 76% reported microaggressions were not addressed. The most commonly committed microaggression include microinvalidations where therapists avoid or minimize cultural issues or make assumptions about the client based on cultural stereotypes. Although often committed outside of one's awareness, microaggressions and subtle enactments of Isms can have a significant impact on clients. Torino et al. (2019) identified four effects of microaggressions including biological, cognitive, emotional, and behavioral effects.

Biologically, a microaggression might cause physiological reaction such as increased heart rate and blood pressure or changes in the immune system, involuntarily activating a person into "flight, fight, or freeze" response. Cognitively, a person might experience confusion as they attempt to discern and decipher the source of the stressor and, therefore, focus their cognitive resources on this endeavor, distracting them from other tasks for work, education, or relationship. Emotionally, the victim can experience anger, anxiety, depression, hopelessness, and might experience these feelings without knowing why. Behaviorally, the victim might engage in different coping strategies such as avoidance, substance use, or humor. Microaggressions cannot only harm clients, but can also weaken therapeutic alliance and are negative associated with therapeutic outcome (Owen et al., 2019).

Implications for Psychological Research

In addition to clinical practice, lack of social privilege integration can negatively impact psychological research (Roberts et al., 2020). In their systematic review, Roberts et al. found evidence of racial inequality publishing for psychological research. For example, only 5% of publications highlighted the importance of race between the 1970s and 2010s, and during this timeframe, zero publications related to cognitive psychology highlighted race. This is similar to DeJesus and colleagues' (2019) results as they found 73% of journal articles published between 2015 and 2016 did not mention the race of their participants. While race does not and should not be the sole focus of all psychological research, Roberts et al. argued "the reality is that racialized experiences shape how people think, develop, and behave" (2020, p. 1299); race thus deserves increased attention. Roberts et al. also found that 93% of the editors in chief were White between 1947 and 2018 for journal publications. Further, in their review, Roberts et al. found that of 1,093 first authors, 63% were White. The overwhelming overrepresentation of Whites in psychological research did not occur by accident, but occurred due to the unquestioned systems of power and White privilege. The results of Roberts and colleagues' study also calls into question how many other marginalized social identity domains are rendered invisible due to the privileged identities of researchers in psychology.

Just as unexamined social privilege harms clients, so too does unexamined social privilege amongst researchers in the field of psychology. Roberts et al. (2020) stated, "It is also well documented that race plays a critical role in the extent to which people even care about race" (p. 1296). Psychological research publications not only serves as a gatekeeping function for what might be deemed important and valuable in the field of psychology, but also helps to inform and shape the knowledge base of professional psychologists. Further, research examines

and summarizes the lived experiences of human beings, and if they are not accurately represented or understood, this is both an injustice and disservice to psychologists and the communities they serve.

Thrift and Sugarman (2018) posited the field of psychology has not adequately acknowledged the historical context, evolution, and implications of social science. Further, psychologists such as L. A. Goodman et al. (2004) have called for psychologists to become change agents who challenge "societal values, structures, policies, and practices" (p. 793). The field of psychology stands at the precipice of making pivotal decisions about the ways in which they practice therapy and research and should feel the weight of greater responsibility for the community at large and collective good.

Implications for Education in Psychology

It has become increasingly important to identify whether individuals have an integration of social privilege, especially as a lack of social privilege awareness and integration might result in harming vulnerable or marginalized persons, committing overt and covert acts of interpersonal aggression and discrimination, and perpetuating oppressive systemic patterns. In addition to aiding the practice and research of psychology, a developmental social privilege integration scale can also benefit the education and training of psychologist (Benuto et al., 2018; Burnes, 2010). Although there are challenges in defining social justice (Thrift & Sugarman, 2018), scholars have described social justice within psychology to involve advocacy (Motulsky et al., 2014) and "recognition of the impact of unearned privilege and discriminatory oppression on clients' mental health" (Singh et al., 2010, p. 767). Scholars have also advocated for psychologists to become change agents which involves "scholarship and professional action designed to change

societal values, structures, policies, and practices, such that disadvantaged or marginalized groups gain increased access to tools of self-determination" (L. A. Goodman et al., 2004, p. 793).

Despite psychologists' recent call to action, there is a dearth of literature offering approaches, standards, and outcomes for implementing doctoral-level social justice pedagogy in psychology curricula. A significant portion of the existing literature reveals that counseling, educational, community, critical, and liberation psychologists (L. A. Goodman et al., 2004), as well as masters-levels programs have engaged more in social justice work. Further, much of the literature focuses on social justice philosophies, definitions, and competencies (Ali et al., 2008; Motulsky et al., 2014; Singh et al., 2010); there has been little effort put forth in outlining practical implementations of social justice, in not only multicultural competence but across all doctoral-level psychology curricula.

Motulsky et al. (2014) stated that "Although more programs integrate multicultural content across the curriculum, it is unusual for social justice issues to be incorporated into the majority of the coursework" (p. 1062). While authors such as Case (2013) have helped to establish the importance of social privilege within social justice pedagogy, Singh et al. (2010) found that among 66 doctoral-level psychology trainees, 85% had not taken a course with social justice content and reported disparities in their definition of social justice. However, Singh et al. also found that many of the participants strived to incorporate social justice into their practice of psychology and sought training outside of their academic institutions. Singh and colleagues' study signifies a clear need and appetite for social justice pedagogy among psychology trainees. Further, Bartoli et al. (2015) asserted that "Facilitating multicultural competence has become central to ethical clinical counseling training, with its responsibility resting on training programs and clinical supervisors" (p. 247). Given the APA's social justice aspirations outlined in their

2017 Multicultural Guidelines, it has become critical for doctoral-level psychology programs to incorporate social justice pedagogy into their education and training of future psychologists.

Vera and Speight (2003) argued that social justice can be incorporated into psychology programs by training the next generation of psychologists as change agents. With the inclusion of social justice pedagogy, a measure such as the DSPIS could have significant implications on educating and training incoming psychologists. The measure could help identify trainees' stages of development and inform the types of education and support they might need. Further, the measure can help to track the progress of the trainees' development. Finally, a measure such as the DSPIS can help to assess the efficacy of multicultural and social justice psychology courses by gathering data before and after the courses.

Implications for Professions Outside of Psychology

Much like a measure of developmental social privilege integration would have utility in the practice, research, and education of psychology, it would also likely have significant implications of professions outside of psychology; in particular, the police force. Throughout 2020 and 2021, racism within the United States police force have gained increasing attention. While the origins of police brutality and racism toward Black persons can be traced back to slavery (Boyd, 2018), since the murder of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, and the guilty verdict of Derek Chauvin on April 20, 2021, there has been increasing urgency to critically examine the racist motivations and structure of policing. While there has been calls to dismantle or defund the police, there is also an opportunity for psychologists to share their considerable body of research, knowledge, and understanding of the ways in which racism operates on both an individual and systemic level.

Mesic et al. (2018) found that structural racism is important in predicting racial differences in the police shootings of unarmed victims. Mesic et al. examined differences in structural racism between different states in the United States and compared this to disparities in fatal police shootings between Black and White victims between January 2013 and June 2017. Mesic et al. developed a state racism index and found that "the state racism index was a significant predictor of the Black-White disparity in unarmed police shootings, indicating that for every 10-point increase in the overall state racism index, the Black-White disparity ratio of unarmed police shooting rates increased by 24%" (p. 113).

The negative impact of police brutality deeply permeates Black communities. Bor et al. (2018) surveyed Black Americans before and after an unarmed Black man was killed in their state. Bor et al. found participants self-reported 0.14 more "poor mental health days" (p. 258). The authors further report that "The result is a population mental health burden for Black Americans so large that the authors estimate it to be three quarters of the mental health burden associated with diabetes" (p. 258). The research of Mesic et al. (2018) and Bor et al. (2018) highlight the detrimental effect of race as social construction and the very real consequences of racism, police brutality, and health inequities.

Social justice research spotlights the practical utility of social privilege integration. Scholars including Case (2013, 2017), D. J. Goodman (2015), and McIntosh (1988) assert that increasing social privilege awareness is a pathway toward challenging and confronting oppressive systems. Thus, by leveraging research and literature about social privilege integration and promoting the use of relevant instruments such as the future version of DSPIS, historically oppressive systems and institutions can begin to change their status-quo.

Limitations

The current study includes several methodological limitations which are important to note as they may affect the validity or strength of the results. This section will review limitations associated with the Focus Group, Content Evaluation Panel, Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM, and lack of data collected on items.

Focus Group

The current study utilized one focus group consisting of six AUS and AUNE doctoral-level psychology research students. While the researcher deliberately selected students who have a familiarity with social privilege integration due to the aim of the research, the number and diversity of participants still include limitations. Given that social location can greatly affect the types of items developed, the lack of diversity within the focus group can be seen as a weakness that restricted the study's item pool. Among the six participants, six identified as cis-gender, five identified as female while one identified as a male, four identified as White while two identified as Persons of Color, and all were doctoral-level psychology students at varying stages of their education and training. Despite the limited demographic diversity, the researcher believes that the groups' ability to discuss their items together encouraged a diversity of thoughts and feelings. Item pool development would likely have been more robust if another focus group was conducted representing different social locations and persons outside of psychology.

Another possible limitation of the focus group was the use of a didactic before item development. The researcher determined it was important to provide a didactic to ensure that all participants had a similar level of knowledge and awareness about Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM. The purpose of the focus group was to create items that reflected each of the

DSIPM stags, however, by providing a didactic, the researcher might have unintentionally primed participants toward creating specific types of items. Further, the didactic might have narrowed the participants breadth and depth of items ad they might have ventured further away from the construct of social privilege integration if the researcher did not provide a didactic.

Content Evaluation Panel

Similar to the focus group, the researcher selected two experts to review the initial pool of items for the Content Evaluation Panel. Given that Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM is in manuscript, not yet published nor widely disseminated research, the number of experts to choose from was limited. However, a content evaluation panel of two experts narrowed the utilization of content validity ratio (CVR) as a CVR of −1.0, 0.0, or 1.0 could only be calculated. With more panelists, a greater range of CVRs and a greater understanding of the essential nature of items would have likely been achieved. The current results found that the experts disagreed on the essential rating of approximately 50% of items. With additional panelists, there likely would have been less disagreement and more feedback about ways to edit, move, and modify different items. While the number of experts who know DSPIM are limited, the current study could have recruited experts on the topics of advocacy, social justice, and social privilege integration.

Bergkamp and Colleagues' (2020) DSPIM

While Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM represents many strengths amongst the existing literature about social privilege integration, there are also several limitations of the model that might be represented in the DSPIS items. Namely, the results suggested that several of the stages appeared to overlap and there might be some difficulty distinguishing between stages, particularly Stage 2: identity threat and Stage 3: identity protection. This might produce challenges in the future especially with regards to establishing subscales within DSPIS. In

addition, Bergkamp et al. (2020) explained that the four stages of DSPIM represent an iterative process that can be experienced within a short period of time. In one of their interviews, Participant 1 had moved from Stage 2, to Stage 3, Stage 4, and back to Stage 3 within the span of a single interview. While there are many potential practical implications and benefits for the future use of DSPIS, there are also some potential limitations.

One such limitation is that if DSPIM (Bergkamp et al., 2020) individual stages occur within short periods of item and represent "traits" instead of "states," this would make it more difficult to use DSPIS to track the progress and outcome of multicultural and social justice courses and trainings overtime. However, I believe that if an individual endorsees Stage 4: reconciliation items, this is a good indication that they have moved through all four stages of DSPIM at some point in time, and would likely represent a greater level of social privilege integration even if they also endorse items representing earlier stages of DSPIM.

Lack of Data Collected on Finalized Items

This study was originally intended to collect data on items for an item analysis. However, due to financial limitations, the researcher decided to postpone this data collection. As of June 25, 2020, Prolific recommends paying research participants $9.54/hour. Thus, for a survey that will take approximately 10 minutes, the total cost to publish (including additional fees) is approximately $636.00. Given that the finalized item pool is 127 items, not including demographic questions, the survey will likely take longer than 10 minutes. In addition, the only version of SurveyMonkey that is compatible with Prolific is the Premier Plan which costs US $1,188.00. Although data was not collected on the current set of items, the researcher believes that the items themselves and the process of item development helped to elucidate information about social privilege integration and Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM.

Future Recommendations

The current study aimed to construct a developmental social privilege integration measure and resisted in 127 items. The current study posited three research questions:

1. Can the construct of social privilege integration as defined in this project be measured?
2. Does the development of social privilege integration differ from the development of privilege integration for one social identity domain?
3. Is it possible to develop a valid and accurate measure of social privilege that also captures a developmental process and intersecting social identities?

The current set of results do not answer these questions. In order to adequately answer these questions, the researcher proposes the following recommendations.

First, more data should be gathered on the finalized items. While the items might result in a second focus group or an expanded content evaluation panel with more experts, the researcher believes that the most helpful form of data would be data gathered through an online survey for item analysis. This will help to determine the quality of items and provide valuable information about which items will be most useful for the DSPIS measure.

Second, more qualitative data might help provide a better understanding of differences between Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM's Stage 2 and 3. However, the researcher believes that any and all research about social privilege integration will be a valuable contribution to the field of psychology and the community at large. Third, an item analysis should be conducted to reduce the number of items and identity which best capture the construct of social privilege integration and reflect Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) DSPIM.

Ultimately, social privilege integration is a construct that remains in its infancy and the full potential and implications of which have yet to be determined. Given the nature of social

privilege integration, it will remain elusive until psychologists are inspired to critically examine the topic and venture into their own development of social privilege integration.

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Appendix A: Focus Group Recruitment Email

Dear fellow Antiochians,

As some of you might know, for my dissertation I hope to construct a developmental social privilege awareness scale. In order to construct items for this new scale, I would like to conduct a focus group to help conceptualize and write a wide range of relevant items. As members of AUS' Social Privilege Awareness Research Lab and Antioch University's New England's Affinity Groups, I believe you would be an ideal contributor to the focus group.

Participation in the focus group will consist of the following:

1) Reading and signing an informed consent. While a focus group style method of data collection cannot guarantee anonymity, participation will not require you to share personally identifying information.

2) Attending a 60 minute Zoom didactic. Given that items are intended to capture the construct of social privilege awareness, it is important for focus group members to have a shared understanding of the fundamental aspects of social privilege awareness. For the didactic, I will present information including definitions and historical genesis of the construct. I will also present the developmental social privilege awareness model that Dr. Bergkamp, Lindsay Olson, and myself developed. The hope is to convert this model into a measure. In addition, I will guide you through a worksheet to determine whether you have an agent or target rank in each of Pamela Hays's (2008, 2016) ADDRESSING domains and map your social location. These worksheets will be collected so I can report this data and provide transparency about the population who contributed to item construction. Personally identifying information will not be reported.

3) The focus group will be hosted on Zoom and time commitment will be between 60-120 minutes. The focus group will consist of participants suggesting items, writing items themselves, and re-writing items. Discussion between participants will be encouraged. You will be asked to use information presented during the didactic to inform item construction. You will also be asked to reflect on your own experience of social privilege awareness to inspire items.

Unfortunately, I will not be able to offer any compensation for your time, but rest assured I will be eternally grateful for your participation! I am also open and eager to return the favor when you begin working on your own dissertation!

Please respond to this email to express interest. Once I have recruited up to 10 participants, I will use Doodle to coordinate the best time to schedule the didactic and the focus group.

Please feel free to contact me with questions or concerns!

Best,
Abi Martin

Appendix B: Focus Group Informed Consent

The following is the informed consent used for the focus group portion of this study. The electronic informed consent was sent via email and was read, signed, and returned prior to participation in the focus group.

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to construct a new developmental social privilege awareness scale. You are being asked to participate in a portion of this study by participating in a didactic and focus group for the purposes of constructing new test items. The focus group will be hosted on Zoom on [insert date].

If you participate in this research you will be asked to attend a 60-90 minute Zoom didactic about social privilege and Bergkamp and colleagues' (2020) developmental social privilege awareness model (DSPAM), and how to write effective test items. You will also be asked to participate in a 60-120 minute focus group for the purposes of constructing new test items informed by information presented during the didactic. The researcher might ask guiding questions such as "do you remember the first time you began to consider your own social privilege? What was that like for you? What feelings did you experience? What thoughts did you have? What behaviors did you engage in?" The researcher will encourage open discussion between participants but will guide the focus group toward the primary task of writing a wide range of test items about the development of social privilege awareness.

Potential risks of participating in this study might involve physical discomfort due to lack of movement while completing the didactic and focus group. Potential risks might also involve experiencing uncomfortable feelings that arise when discussing social privilege. However, participants have the option to stop participating in uncomfortable discussions and the researcher does not believe these conversations will cause harm. In total, your participation in the didactic and focus group will take approximately 120 to 210 minutes.

Your participation in this research is strictly voluntary. You may refuse to participate entirely, or choose to stop your participation at any point in the research, without fear of penalty or negative consequences of any kind. You will not be compensated for participation in the didactic and focus group.

Given that the intention of the focus group is to write new test items, information you provide for the construction items will potentially be used in the construction of the developmental social privilege awareness scale. However, only test items will be used in the scale. Information you provide about your experiences, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that are specific to you will be treated confidentially by the researcher. Given the focus group format of this portion of the study, privacy and anonymity cannot be guaranteed, but the researcher will ask all participants to respect each other's privacy.

You also have the right to review the results of the research if you wish to do so. A copy of the results may be obtained by contacting the principal investigator: Abi Martin, amartin1@antioch.edu

Your direct personal benefits from your participation in this research include increased knowledge about the topic of social privilege and increased understanding and awareness about yourself. The research may contribute to ongoing efforts to understand how to address and dismantle systems of oppression in the United States.

I understand that this research has been reviewed and Certified by the Institutional Review Board, Antioch University, Seattle. For research-related problems or questions regarding participants' rights, I can contact Antioch University's Institutional Board Chair, Mark Russell, PhD at mrussell@antioch.edu.

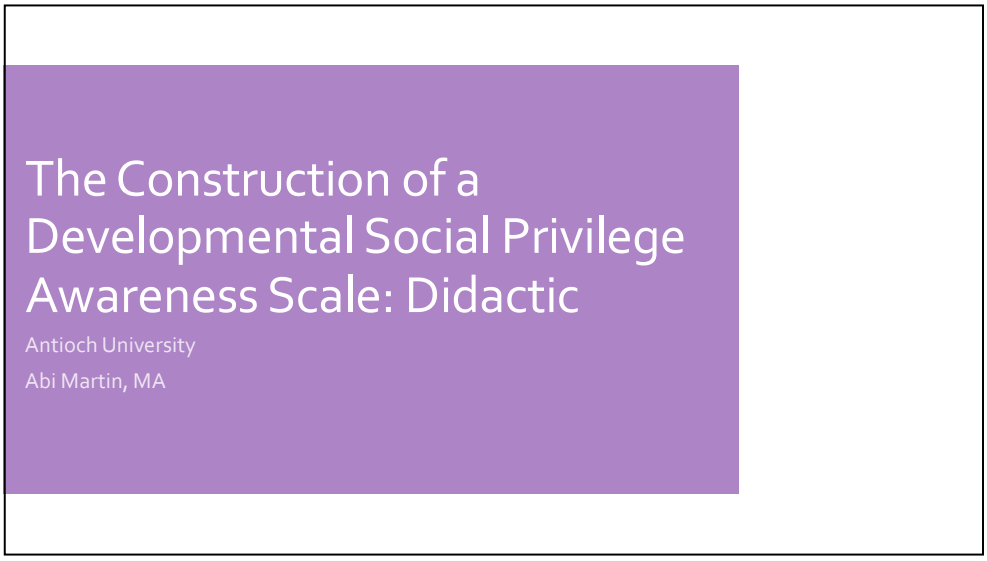
The primary researcher conducting this study is Abi Martin, MA doctoral student of clinical psychology under the research supervision of Jude Bergkamp, PsyD If you have questions later, you may contact Abi Martin at amartin1@antioch.edu.

I have read and understand the information explaining the purpose of this research and my rights and responsibilities as a participant. By signing this electronic document I give my consent to participate in this research study, according to the terms and conditions outlined above.

Signature and Date

Printed Name

Appendix C: Focus Group Didactic



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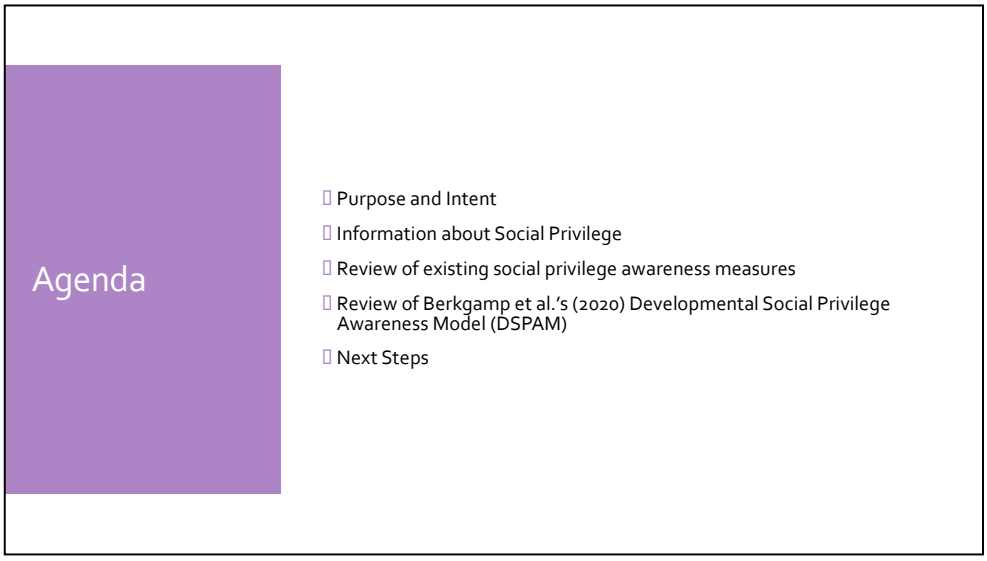


2

Purpose and Intent

- The purpose of the current study is to construct a new developmental social privilege awareness scale.
- This didactic is intended to provide participants a shared understanding of Bergkamp et al.'s Developmental Social Privilege Awareness Model (DSPAM).
- The purpose of the focus group is to construct items for the new measure.

3

Social Privilege: Definition

Black & Stone (2005) provide a definition of social privilege that also echoes the observations of DuBois (1903/1989) and Helms (2017):

1) Privilege is a special advantage; it is neither common nor universal.
2) Second, it is granted, not earned or brought into being by one's individual effort or talent.
3) Third, privilege is a right or entitlement that is related to a preferred status or rank.
4) Fourth, privilege is exercised for the benefit of the recipient and to the exclusion or detriment of others.
5) Finally, a privileged status is often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it (McIntosh, 1992; Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000). (p. 244)

4

Social Privilege Awareness: Significance

- Fifth condition of Black and Stone's (2005) definition:
  - Finally, a privileged status is often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it (McIntosh, 1992; Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000). (p. 244)
- Social privilege is "Taboo," and "Elusive" (McIntosh, 1988)
- Social privilege is "Invisible" (McIntosh, 1988) and adheres to the "Rules of Whiteness" (Helms, 2017)
- *A lack of social privilege is inherent in the definition of social privilege*
- Social Privilege awareness is provides a pathway toward addressing the oppressive status quo (McIntosh, 1988; Goodman, 2015; Case, 2013)

5

Developmental Social Privilege Awareness Scale: Gaps in Literature

- 25 measures of Whiteness (18 of which have had articles published about their validity and reliability) (Schooley et al., 2020)
  - Call to action—need to include intersectionality in the study of Whiteness (Schooley et al., 2019)
- Measures specifically related to social privilege awareness:
  - Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale (APOS; 2003)
  - Privilege and Oppression Inventory (POI; 2005)
  - Social Privilege Measure (SPM; 2007)
  - Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale 2 (APOS-2; McClellan, 2014)

6

Social Identity Domain	Privileged	Not Privileged
Age	Adults (30-60) (18-64)	Children, Adolescents, & Elders
Disability	Able-bodied	Person with Disability
Religion	Cultural Christians	Non-Christian Religions
Ethnicity/Race	White Euro-Americans	People of Color
SES	Owning Middle/Upper Class	Poor/Working Class
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transexual, Queer, Questioning, Asexual, Pansexual
Indigenous Heritage	Non-Native	Native
National Origin	U.S. Born	Immigrants & Refugees
Sex Assigned at Birth / Gender Identity	Male / Cisgender	Female, Intersex / Transgender, Gender Non-Conforming

7

Addressing Existing Limitations

1) Incorporation of comprehensive definition of social privilege awareness development
   - Black and Stone's (2005) definition Hays' (2005) addressing domains
2) Use of literature review, focus group, and informed by Bergkamp et al.'s DSPAM
3) Capturing the full spectrum of experiences: accumulation of knowledge, affective experiences, and transformation of self

These limitations are addressed in the construction of items

8

The Developmental Social Privilege Awareness Model

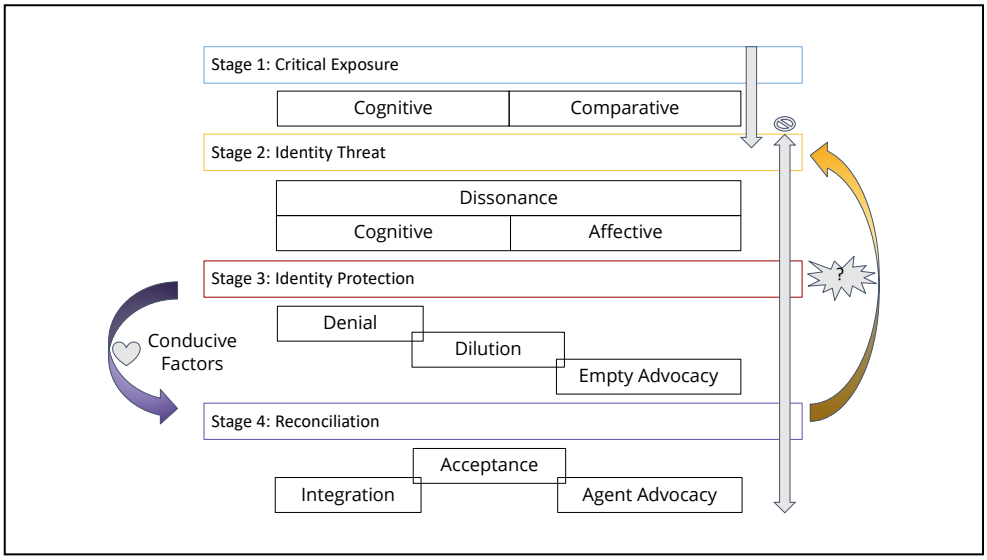
Bergkamp, Olson, and Martin (2020)

9

Important Concepts

- Developmental
  - A strength of psychology
  - Challenging the Woke/Not Woke binary
- Cyclical and Non-Linear
  - No transcendental end goal here…
  - But… there's still stages
  - It's a marathon
- Social Location
  - The interplay of parts that inform our own unique social experience of the world as well as how we are perceived and treated in the world
  - Hays's (2008; 2016) Addressing Model
- Identity Narrative
  - The story we tell ourselves and others
  - Dependent on social identity domains

10



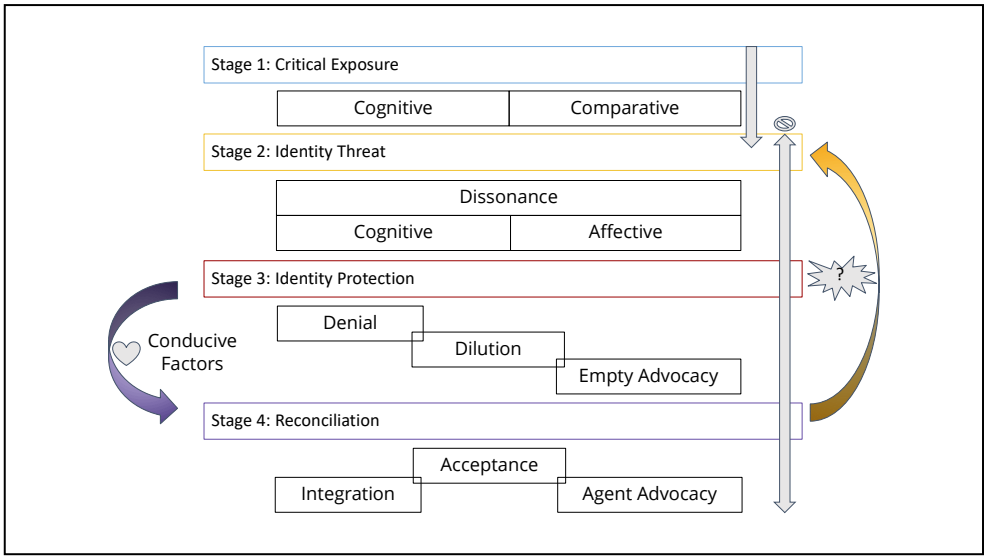
11

Stage 1: Critical Exposure

- Comparative Exposure
  - "Awareness by comparison"
  - Friends, family, strangers, peers, TV shows, news, volunteering, travel, etc.
- Cognitive Exposure
  - Multicultural/social justice classes, books, intellectual/academic experiences

Might require multiple exposures

12



13

Stage 2: Identity Threat

- Dissonance
  - Social privilege and oppression do not fit with:
    - What we know about ourselves (identity narrative)
    - What we think we know about the world (myths)
- Cognitive Dissonance
  - Questioning the "facts"
  - Confusion
  - Wondering about personal achievements
- Affective Dissonance
  - Discomfort with uncertainty about a new paradigm
  - Feels like shame, guilt, anger, anxiety
- Sociocultural Dissonance

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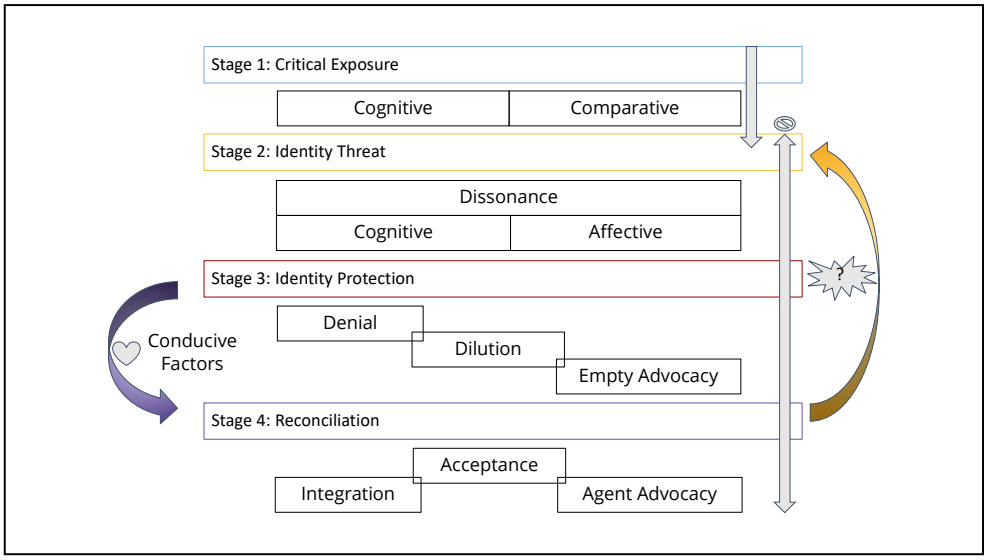
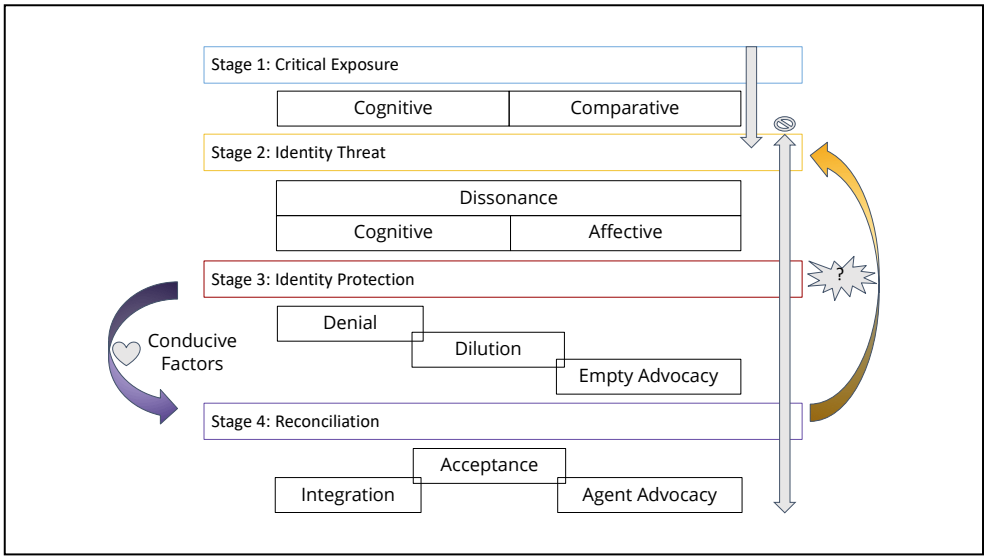


15

Stage 3: Identity Protection

- Defense
  - High emotionality
  - Overt and covert (micro) aggressions
  - Victim blaming
- Dilution
  - Intellectualizing
  - Subjectifying
  - Denying
- Empty Advocacy
  - Action without reflection
  - Who is it for?

16



17

Conducive Factors

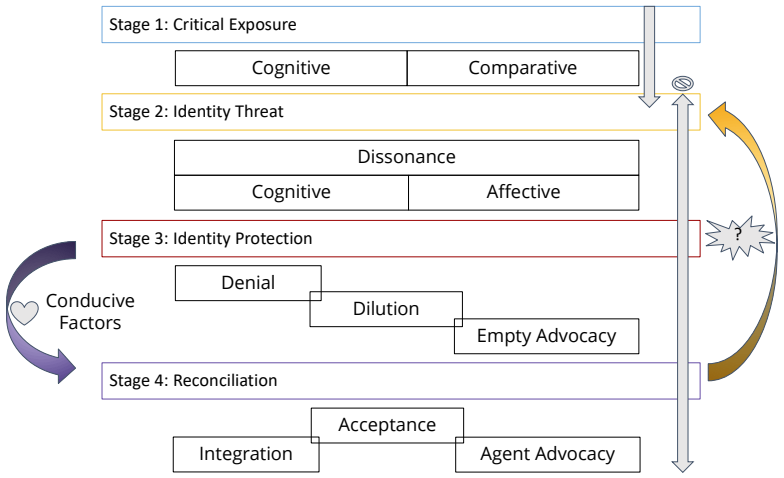
- Cognitive Scaffolding
  - A sociohistorical framework gathered from trusted sources can facilitate learning and exploration
- Interpersonal Safety
  - Secure, mutually compassionate relationships with others can provide safety to explore privilege
- Intrapersonal Safety
  - A resilient self-identity, self compassion, and curiosity can provide safety to confront personal privilege

18

Stage 4: Reconciliation

- Acceptance
  - Accepting the dissonance
  - Accepting social privilege
- Integration
  - Integrating new understanding and knowledge of social privilege into our identity narrative
- Agent Advocacy
  - Recognizing impactful sustainable change occurs agent-to-agent
  - Becoming an agent ally

19



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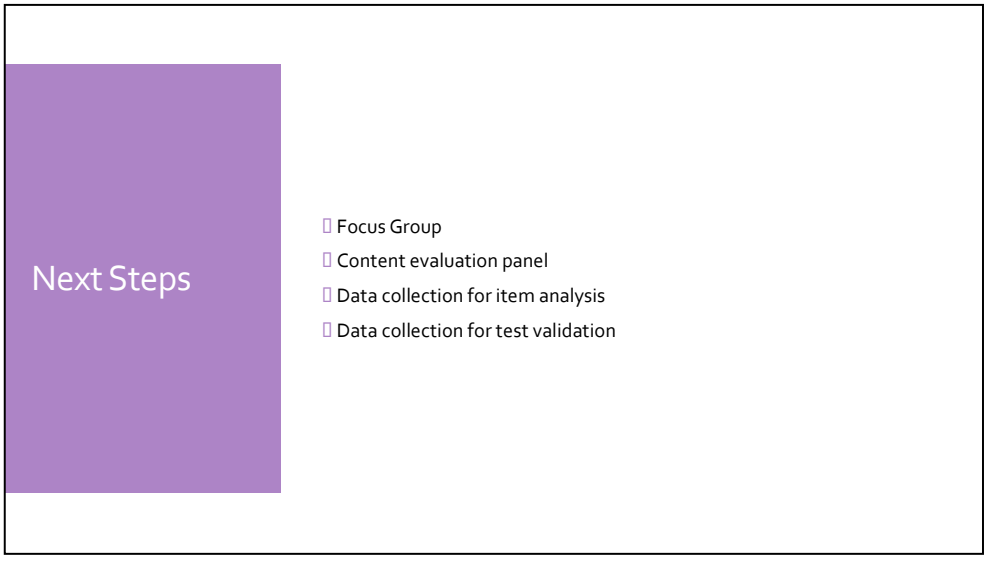
Questions and
Discussion

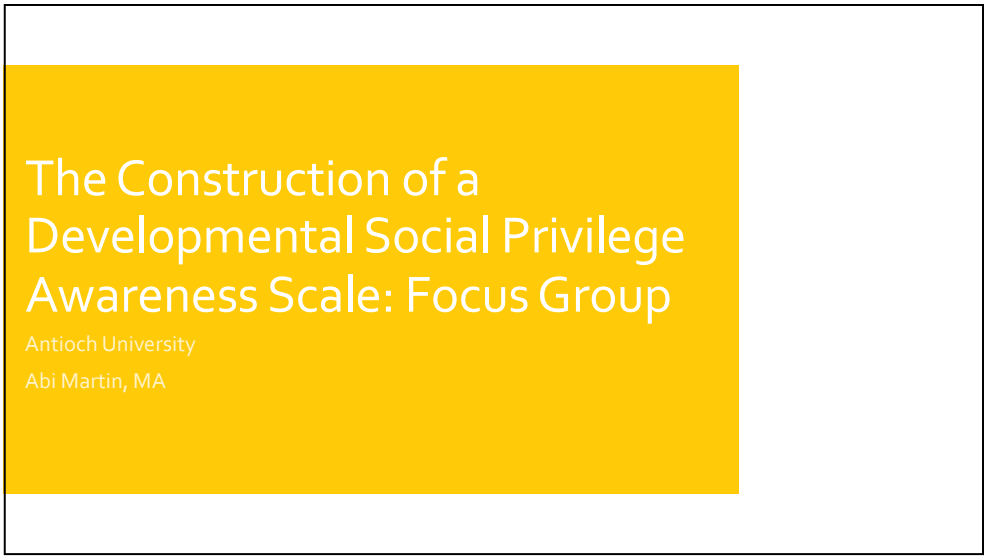
21


Next Steps
Focus Group
Content evaluation panel
Data collection for item analysis
Data collection for test validation

22


Thank you!
Abi Martin
amartin1@antioch.edu
(206) 300-7450
23

Appendix D: Focus Group Powerpoint Presentation



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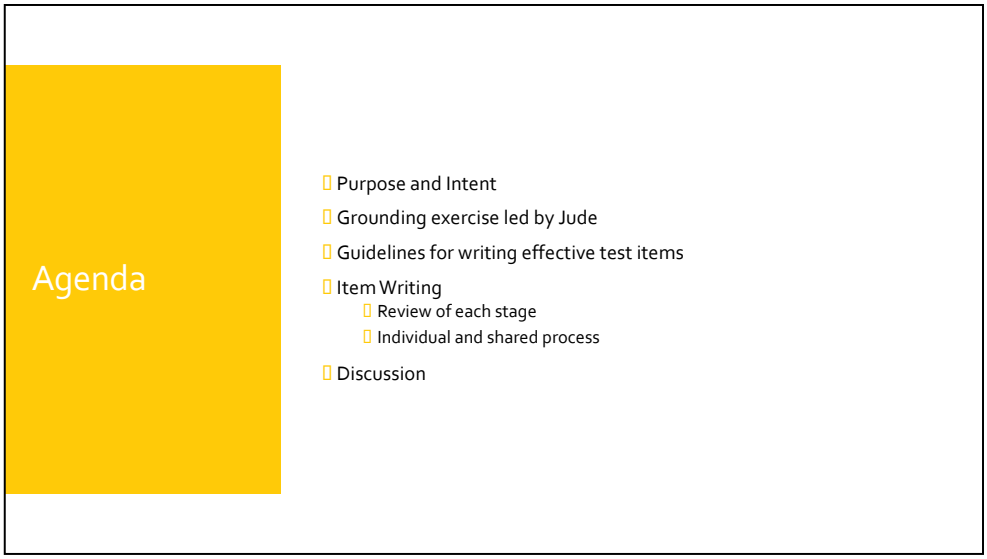

2

Purpose and Intent

- The purpose of the current study is to construct a new developmental social privilege awareness scale.
- The purpose of the focus group is to construct items for the new measure based on Bergkamp et al.'s Developmental Social Privilege Awareness Model (DSPAM).

3

Grounding Exercise

4

Social Identity Domain	Privileged	Not Privileged
Age	Adults (30-60) (18-64)	Children, Adolescents, & Elders
Disability	Able-bodied	Person with Disability
Religion	Cultural Christians	Non-Christian Religions
Ethnicity/Race	White Euro-Americans	People of Color
SES	Owning Middle/Upper Class	Poor/Working Class
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transexual, Queer, Questioning, Asexual, Pansexual
Indigenous Heritage	Non-Native	Native
National Origin	U.S. Born	Immigrants & Refugees
Sex Assigned at Birth / Gender Identity	Male / Cisgender	Female, Intersex / Transgender, Gender Non-Conforming

5

Social Identity Domain	How do you describe yourself?	Do you have privilege?	What PA Stage are you in?	What action(s) will you take toward becoming a Privilege Antagonist?
Age/ Generation				
Developmental or Other Disability				
Religion and Spirituality				
Ethnic and Racial Identity				
Socio-economic Status				
Sexual Orientation				
Indigenous Heritage				
National Origin				
Gender				
Sex Assigned at Birth				

6

Guidelines for Writing Effective Test Items

7

Helpful things to know about the current scale…

- 6-Item Likert Scale
  1) Strongly Disagree
  2) Disagree
  3) Slightly Disagree
  4) Slightly Agree
  5) Agree
  6) Strongly Agree

- Population: The scale is intended to be for the general public
- Purpose: To help identify and measure social privilege awareness in multiple contexts (curious laypersons, education, training, business)

- Items can reflect any of the stages associated with DSPAM
- Items can reflect the experience of social privilege awareness in general OR privilege awareness for a singular social identity domain
- Items can reflect the experience of either having social privilege awareness or lacking social privilege awareness
- Items can be inspired by your own experience or your observations of others
- The purpose of this focus group is to create as many items as possible, even if they appear loosely associated to social privilege awareness. So do not feel like you need to filter yourself!

8

Guidelines for Writing Effective Test Items

- Avoid using negative stems and responses
  - Instead of asking "Which of the following is NOT true?" ask "Which of the following is FALSE?"
- Make all responses similar in detail and length
- Avoid determining words such as always and never
  - Instead, use *sometimes* and *often* as qualifiers.
- Avoid overlapping/double-barreled responses
  - E.g. When I encounter a person who is a different race than me I feel anxiety AND anger
- Use clear language that the general public will understand
  - Avoid academic jargon

Miller & Lovler, 2016

9

Item Writing Process

10

Focus Group Methodology

- Step 1: Review DSPAM stage
- Step 2: Individually write items for reviewed stage in word document
- Step 3: Each participant shares one item
- Step 4: Collectively write items and/or discuss and refine each other's items (use Whiteboard)
- Step 5: Facilitator to ask questions about wording of items and individual item writing process
- Repeat for other stages

11

Item Writing

Stage One: Critical Exposure

12

Important Concepts

- Developmental
  - A strength of psychology
  - Challenging the Woke/Not Woke binary
- Cyclical and Non-Linear
  - No transcendental end goal here…
  - But… there's still stages
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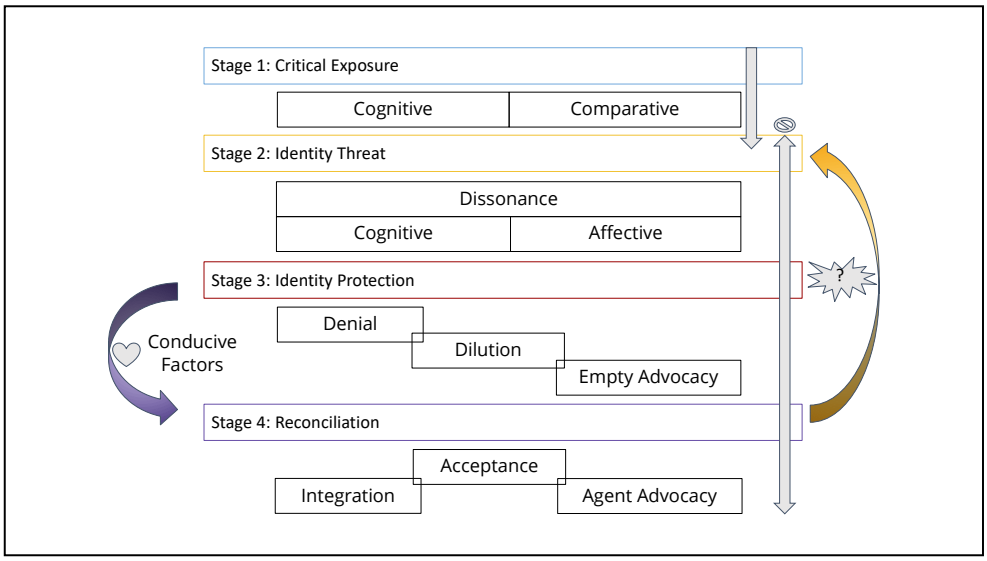

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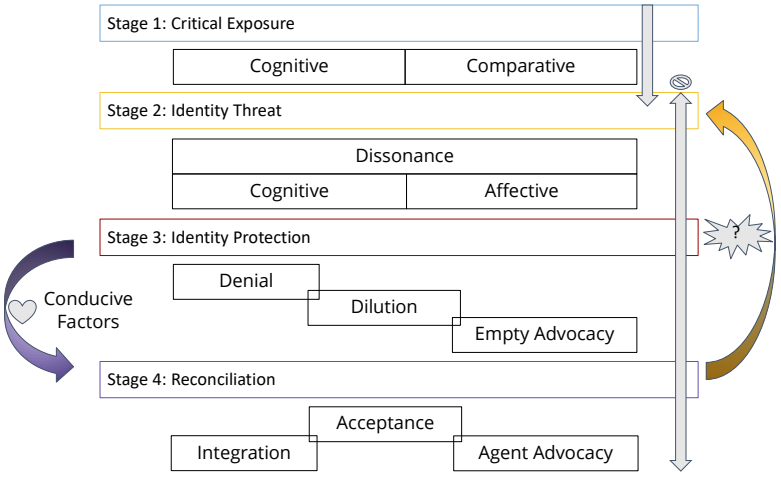

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18

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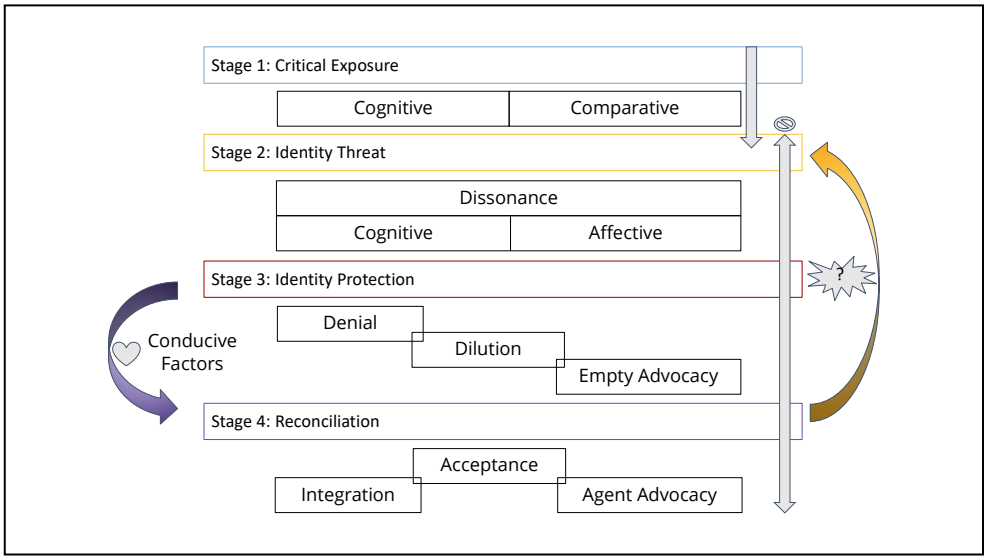
Stage 1: Critical Exposure
Cognitive
Comparative
Stage 2: Identity Threat
Dissonance
Cognitive
Affective
Stage 3: Identity Protection
?
Denial
Dilution
Empty Advocacy
Conducive Factors
Stage 4: Reconciliation
Acceptance
Integration
Agent Advocacy

20


create

21

Stage 3: Identity Protection

- Defense
  - High emotionality
  - Overt and covert (micro) aggressions
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  - Intellectualizing
  - Subjectifying
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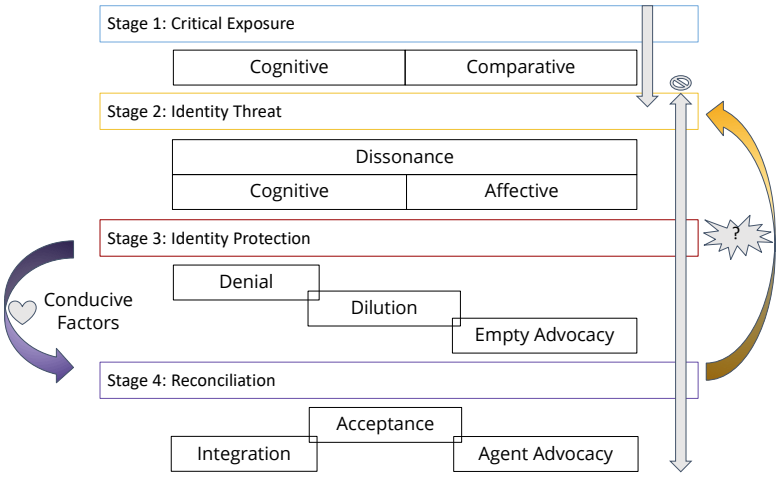

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Conducive Factors

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25

26

Stage 4: Reconciliation

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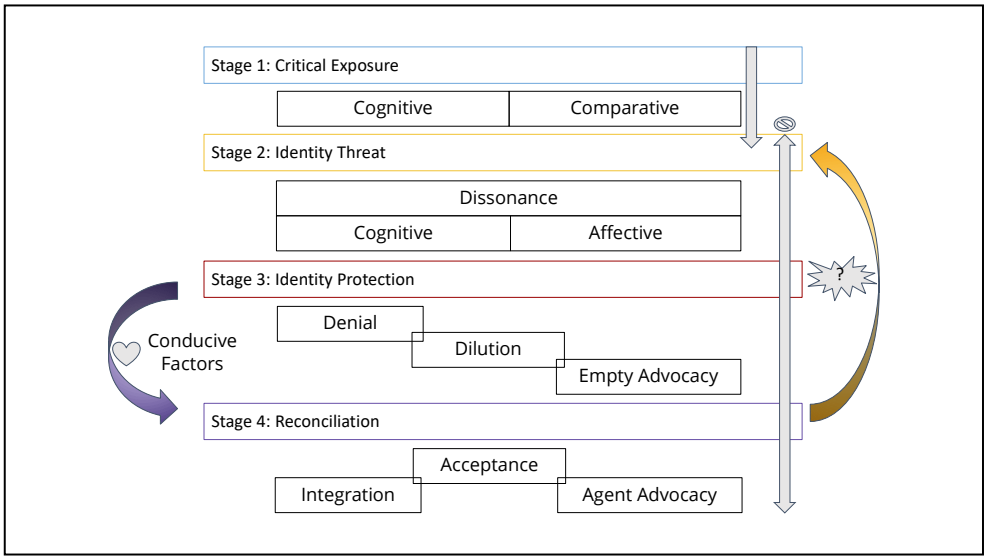
Stage 1: Critical Exposure
Cognitive
Comparative
Stage 2: Identity Threat
Dissonance
Cognitive
Affective
Stage 3: Identity Protection
?
Denial
Dilution
Empty Advocacy
Conducive Factors
Stage 4: Reconciliation
Acceptance
Integration
Agent Advocacy

28


create

29

Appendix E: Example of Demographic Questionnaire for Future Survey

Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions that describe you

1. Please enter your age in years:

2. Do you have a physical or developmental disability?
    a. Yes
    b. No

3. Do you currently practice or did you grow up with Christian culture (e.g., celebrate Christmas or Easter or go to Church)?
    a. Yes
    b. No

4. Please select the racial/Ethnic category that best describes your own race:
    a. White/European American
    b. Black/African American
    c. Asian/South East Asian/Pacific Islander
    d. Hispanic/LatinX
    e. American Indian/Alaska Native
    f. Two or more races

5. Please enter the approximate annual household income (in dollars) in which you were raised:

6. Please enter your current approximate annual household income (in dollars):

7. Please enter the sexual identity that best describes you:

8. Are you recognized as Native American or a member of an indigenous group in the United States?

a. Yes
b. No

9. Do you have legal U.S. citizenship (this information will only be used for the purposes of this study and will not be distributed to any outside party)
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Prefer not to say

10. Were you born in the United States?
    a. Yes
    b. No

11. Please enter the gender with which you identify:

12. What was your sex assigned at birth?
    a. Male
    b. Female

13. Please select your highest level of completed education:
    a. Elementary or Middle School
    b. High School
    c. AA (associates degree)
    d. Undergraduate
    e. Graduate (masters or doctoral degree)

14. Please enter your political affiliation or the party for which you typically vote:

15. I have travelled outside of the United States or Canada at least once in my lifetime
    a. Yes
    b. No

Appendix F: Examples of Defined Terms for Future Survey

Social Privilege: The term "social privilege" in this survey very basically refers to a special right or advantage that is granted because of at least one social identity. This definition does not confirm whether privilege does or does not exist. The term *does not* refer to a rare opportunity, a legal right, or the privileges gained from a patient/doctor or client/lawyer relationship.

I have read and understood this definition.

□ Yes □ No

Ism: Ism refers to the full spectrum of historical oppression that occurs within the United states. Isms include, racism, sexism, classism, ageism, homophobia or heterosexism, xenophobia, ableism, or antisemitism or anti-Muslimism/Islam sentiment or religious intolerance. This definition does not confirm whether Isms does or not exist.

I have read and understood this definition.

□ Yes □ No

Appendix G: Informed Consent for Future Survey

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to collect information about a survey about social privilege to help determine if the survey is helpful or useful.

If you participate in this research, you will be asked to confirm whether you are 18 years of age or older and currently reside in the United States. You will be asked to read and confirm your understanding of two key terms and definitions. Participation will additional require the completion of a 15 question demographic questionnaire and a [insert number] survey about social privilege.

Potential risks of participating in this study might involve physical discomfort due to lack of movement while completing the survey. Potential risks might also involve experiencing uncomfortable feelings that arise when thinking about the subject of social privilege. However, you are able to discontinue the survey at any point should your feelings become too uncomfortable. The researcher does not believe any emotions that might arise during the survey will cause significant or lasting harm. In total, your participation in the survey will take approximately [insert time].

Compensation is provided in accordance with the terms of the Prolific research platform.

Your participation in this research is strictly voluntary. You may refuse to participate entirely, or choose to stop your participation at any point in the research, without fear of penalty or negative consequences of any kind.

The information/data you provide for this research will be treated confidentially, and all raw data will be deidentified by the Prolific research platform prior to receipt by the principal investigator. Results of the research will be reported as aggregate summary data only, and no individually identifiable information will be presented. Privacy and confidentiality of individually identifiable information is provided by the Prolife research platform.

You also have the right to review the results of the research if you wish to do so. A copy of the results may be obtained by contacting the principal investigator: Abi Martin, amartin1@antioch.edu

Your direct personal benefits from your participation in this research include increased knowledge about the topic of social privilege and increased understanding and awareness about yourself. The research may contribute to ongoing efforts to understand how to address and dismantle systems of oppression in the United States.

I understand that this research has been reviewed and Certified by the Institutional Review Board, Antioch University, Seattle. For research-related problems or questions regarding participants' rights, I can contact Antioch University's Institutional Board Chair, Mark Russell, PhD at mrussell@antioch.edu.

The primary researcher conducting this study is Abi Martin, MA doctoral student of clinical psychology under the research supervision of Jude Bergkamp, PsyD If you have questions later, you may contact Abi Martin at amartin1@antioch.edu.

I have read and understand the information explaining the purpose of this research and my rights and responsibilities as a participant. By clicking the accept button below, I give my consent to participate in this research study, according to the terms and conditions outlined above.

Appendix H: First Pool of Items

Item number	Focus group items
Stage 1: Critical exposure	
F-1	I am comfortable with going to the doctor.
F-2	I am successful because I worked hard for it.
F-3	I am treated differently than other people.
F-4	I believe a man's primary role is to provide financially for his family.
F-5	I believe that a woman's role is to take care of children at home.
F-6	I can recall a moment in my life during which I was uncomfortable about how much more privilege I have.
F-7	I could easily find people who talk, look, and think like me on movies and books.
F-8	I don't think about my actions when I am surrounded by people who are similar to me.
F-9	I feel nervous about saying the wrong thing when I'm around people of a different.
F-10	I feel safe walking around at night.
F-11	I feel uncomfortable when I have to interact with someone different from myself.
F-12	I have felt that a person with less privilege than me is being treated unfairly.
F-13	I have not had a disability that has impaired my everyday functioning.
F-14	I have noticed a friend being treated differently than me because they do not.
F-15	I have often been stopped at the random checking's in airport security.
F-16	I have read a book or watched a movie that made me think about my privilege differently.
F-17	I have realized that I am sometimes treated better than someone different based solely on my privilege.
F-18	I have stable Wi-Fi for zoom for virtual classrooms but my classmates don't.
F-19	I have taken a class or a workshop that made me realize I had privilege.

F-20	I help people who are different from me just as I would my own friends and family.
F-21	I like to advocate for marginalized communities on Facebook only.
F-22	I notice that other people are treated differently than me.
F-23	I rarely worry about my actions when I am surrounded by people who are different from me.
F-24	I read a book that made me aware of the advantages I have by being …
F-25	I see examples of injustice when watching TV, reading books, or catching up on the news.
F-26	I think about injustice.
F-27	I was surprised by how different someone else's life is from mine.
F-28	I was taught that everyone is treated equally.
F-29	I wish I could walk around in another person's shoes sometimes.
F-30	I wonder why other people are treated differently than me.
F-31	I'm comfortable with going to a public bathroom
F-32	I'm comfortable with taking public transportation
F-33	I've read books that make me think I have privilege.
F-34	In public, I am comfortable with being myself, but I don't know why
F-35	My parents told me my gay uncles were roommates.
F-36	My parents told me that I could go on a walk at night but told my sister, who is the same age, that she could not go on a walk at night.
F-37	My perspective changed when a loved one experienced discrimination because they were …
F-38	People treat me unfairly.
F-39	Someone has told me that I have privilege.
F-40	The majority of individuals within my religious community are heterosexual.
F-41	When I was little, I realized boys were treated differently than girls.

Stage Two: Identity threat

F-42	I have had taken a class or workshop that made me realize I have special.

F-43	I had an interaction with someone who was so different than me it made me.
F-44	I believe I understand what social privilege is.
F-45	But I am different.
F-46	Hard work is the primary reason why I'm successful.
F-47	I no longer understand how to interact with people different from me.
F-48	I am angry why is life so unfair?
F-49	I am worried people will see my achievements as being undeserving.
F-50	I become annoyed when people tell me that I can or can't do something because.
F-51	I don't like getting political.
F-52	I don't like it when someone tells me I have privilege.
F-53	I experience confusion about topics such as privilege.
F-54	I feel angry when …
F-55	I feel angry when people say I have privilege because I worked hard to get where I am.
F-56	I feel anxious when the topic of privilege comes up.
F-57	I feel bad when someone calls me white.
F-58	I feel confused when people talk about privilege as something bad.
F-59	I feel guilty locking away important possessions when my dad's workers come over to the house.
F-60	I feel guilty thinking about all the ways I have oppressed people.
F-61	I feel guilty when …
F-62	I feel guilty when I notice myself locking the car door in a "bad neighborhood."
F-63	I feel guilty when I would lock away important possessions when one of my dad's workers came over the house.
F-64	I feel I am better than other people.
F-65	I feel like everything I have learned about … is a lie.
F-66	I feel offended when people criticize individualism.
F-67	I feel sad when I think about what I have that others don't.
F-68	I feel upset when people said I had privilege because I worked hard to get where I am.
F-69	I feel weird around people of color.
F-70	I feel weird around trans people.

F-71	I get angry when people assume things about me just by looking at me.
F-72	I had difficulties growing up, therefore I don't have privilege.
F-73	I hate it when my female friends point out that I'm male/a dude.
F-74	I hate Trump and all the cops.
F-75	I have feelings of anxiety when others' opinions of privilege differ than my own.
F-76	I question if my male identity diminishes what I have accomplished.
F-77	I no longer understand how to interact with people different from me.
F-78	I question if my white identity diminishes what I have accomplished.
F-79	hard work is the primary reason why I'm successful.
F-80	I question if my white identity…
F-81	I regret my previous thoughts about a group of people.
F-82	I see things differently when thinking about my privilege.
F-83	I suddenly doubt my own value relative to other people.
F-84	I would rather not think about how I benefit from being white.
F-85	I'm angry why life is so unfair.
F-86	I'm ashamed of things my ancestors have done.
F-87	I'm not comfortable with women having equal rights.
F-88	I'm not responsible for slavery… I wasn't even born then.
F-89	I'm not sure if privilege is real.
F-90	I'm not sure what social privilege is.
F-91	Just because I'm a man doesn't mean I'm sexist..
F-92	Just because I'm white doesn't mean I am racist.
F-93	My parents never said anything about my privilege.
F-94	Please don't make me feel bad for somebody else's mistakes.
F-95	The world suddenly feels much more complicated.
F-96	When others point out my privilege, I feel threatened.
F-97	I experience confusion about topics such as privilege.
F-98	I'm not sure what social privilege is.
F-99	I'm not sure why or how social privilege applies to me.
F-100	I feel guilt about my privileged position in society.
F-101	I feel shame about my privileged position in society.
F-102	Because of my identity, I feel guilt or shame for being a part of America's history of oppression.

F-103	I feel anxious whenever the topic of privilege comes up.
F-104	I am afraid about what the idea of privilege says or means about me.
F-105	The concept of privilege makes me feel sad.
F-106	The concept of privilege makes me feel angry.
F-107	Homeless people are so sad, they could turn it around if they got a job.

Stage 3: Identity protection

F-108	I don't see race – we are all human and that's all that matters.
F-109	I enjoy publicly donating my time, energy, and resources.
F-110	I feel compelled to make my advocacy publicly visible.
F-111	I give a lot of money to my church.
F-112	I have so much going on. I can't save the world.
F-113	I know most of what there is to know about privilege.
F-114	I like to help homeless people.
F-115	I like to point out when other people are making microaggressions.
F-116	I like to treat people who are different from me much better than I would treat my family or friends.
F-117	I like to volunteer with people who are different than me.
F-118	I like to watch tv shows that make me feel comfortable.
F-119	I love exploring other cultures.
F-120	I posted on social media, so now I'm not racist.
F-121	I recently started following a lot of Black people on social media.
F-122	I said racist things in the past because I didn't know better.
F-123	I spend a lot of time trying to "fix" less privileged people.
F-124	I think sometimes that other people should follow my example when interacting with people who are different from them.
F-125	I think we're all unique people and no one has more power than another.
F-126	I will be friends with someone who is from a different race, I just won't marry them.
F-127	I will be friends with someone who is from a different religion, I just won't marry them.
F-128	I will be friends with someone who is from a different religion, or a different race, I just won't marry them.
F-129	I'm not anti-gay because I go to pride parades.

F-130	I'm not racist because most of my friends are people of color.
F-131	I'm the head of my school's diversity committee.
F-132	I've read a lot of books on slavery, so I'm not a racist.
F-133	If people don't want to be treated differently, then they shouldn't act differently.
F-134	If some people tried harder they wouldn't be homeless or poor.
F-135	If we all lived by the golden rule, privilege wouldn't be an issue.
F-136	It is important that I post advocacy material on social media during peak times so my friends will see the posts.
F-137	It makes me feel good to volunteer.
F-138	Not all cops are bad.
F-139	People are so sensitive and easily offended (SNOWFLAKES!).
F-140	Privilege can convince people they are victims.
F-141	Privilege is a democratic hoax.
F-142	Privilege is just a political agenda.
F-143	Prove to me that racism exists.
F-144	Racism should be a psychological disease, it only affects a few really sick people.
F-145	Racists are insane.
F-146	Some women are just "asking for it."
F-147	Sure, I've said racist things in the past but I didn't know better.
F-148	The most important thing is to help less fortunate folks.
F-149	The world would be a better place if we all treated those less fortunate than ourselves with a little respect.
F-150	They are just lazy.
F-151	This is just some political propaganda.
F-152	Those people had it coming.
F-153	We all need to seize our own opportunities.
F-154	When women where low cut shirts, they want my attention.
F-155	History has shown that some groups of people (e.g., White, educated, American-born citizens) are better than others.
F-156	If some groups of people simply tried harder, they wouldn't be homeless or poo.
F-157	Isms such as racism and sexism shouldn't be a political issue.
F-158	If we just acknowledge that we're all equal isms wouldn't be an issue.
F-159	Whether I have privilege depends on the context I'm in and who I'm with.

F-160	I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups.
F-161	When I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups, I feel better about myself.
F-162	When I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups, I wonder if I'm really helping them.
F-163	I wonder how to be a good ally.
Stage 4: Reconciliation	
F-164	I expect to feel confusion as a natural part of my privilege.
F-165	I have privilege and I'm willing to use my platforms to advocate.
F-166	I have received a lot of help.
F-167	I hold a lot of privilege.
F-168	I know I have blind spots and I need others to help me.
F-169	I know that naming my privilege does not mean I no longer have it.
F-170	I recognize that silence can be an enaction of my privilege (silence is violence).
F-171	I think that White people should talk to other White people about racism.
F-172	I try to validate others who have experienced oppression and internalize that in my future actions.
F-173	I understand privilege is part of who I am and the society I live in.
F-174	I understand that I hold a lot of privilege as a white person.
F-175	I understand that there is no right or wrong way to handle tough situations.
F-176	I want to break free of my socialized privileged thoughts/feelings/actions.
F-177	I want to have black leaders in my organization.
F-178	I welcome feedback about how my privilege is influencing relationships.
F-179	I'm done looking for forgiveness.
F-180	I'm eager to help others explore their own privileges.
F-181	I'm eager to help others explore their privilege.
F-182	I'm finding ways to use my privilege to advocate with not for.
F-183	I'm learning to accept my privilege, not get rid of it.
F-184	I'm on a continuous journey of learning.
F-185	I'm willing to lose friends or relationships as I understand myself differently.

F-186	I'm willing to see myself in a less-than-desirable light..
F-187	I'm willing to accept loss as a way to reconstruct privileges.
F-188	I'm willing to admit my mistakes.
F-189	I'm willing to lose power …
F-190	I'm willing to lose who I thought I was.
F-191	It's important to support others who have privilege.
F-192	Knowing that I have privilege, I feel responsible to …
F-193	My relationships can benefit from the insight of privilege..
F-194	Privilege acts as a "blinder", making me unaware of some truths in the world.
F-195	Privilege scares the shit out of me, but I know that's normal.
F-196	Reconciliation is a willingness to manifest the power that comes with privilege in order to dismantle that privilege.
F-197	Some of my thoughts/feelings/reactions are due to being socialized as a privileged person.
F-198	The way I enact my privilege is socialized.
F-199	The work of being a privileged person is to be uncomfortable.
F-200	Understanding privilege is an important tool in making our society better.
F-201	With great power comes great responsibility (not just acknowledgement of the power).
F-202	I understand privilege is part of who I am and the society I live in.
F-203	Even though I feel guilt and shame about my privilege, I also know I will be okay.
F-204	Being a good ally entails reflecting on my privilege before taking action.
F-205	Because of my privilege, I believe I believe anti-oppression work entails talking to or working with other privileged people.

General knowledge & experiences of social privilege

F-206	Social privilege provides unearned advantages based on identity categories.
F-207	My social privilege comes at the expense of others.
F-208	Social privilege is a systemic issue.
F-209	Isms are less about policies and more about people's ignorance or hatred of difference.
F-210	Because of my awareness of my privilege, I have lost relationships or experience tension in them.

Awareness of social identity domains

F-211	Depending on their age, a person's age can grant privilege.
F-212	People who have a disability do not have privilege.
F-213	People who have an invisible disability have privilege.
F-214	People who identify as agnostic or atheist do not have privilege.
F-215	People who identify as Christian always have privilege.
F-216	People who are White always have privilege.
F-217	Biracial people have privilege because it is considered desirable or exotic.
F-218	Biracial people have privilege because they can get "the best of both worlds."
F-219	People who come from a middle class background have privilege.
F-220	People who come from an upper middle class background have privilege.
F-221	People who identify as LGBTQIA+ do not have privilege.
F-222	People who have an indigenous or Native American background do not have privilege.
F-223	People who are born in the U.S. have privilege.
F-224	People who have U.S. citizenship have privilege.
F-235	Gender identity is a choice.
F-226	People who identify with their gender which was assigned at birth have privilege.
F-227	Men always have privilege compared to women.
F-228	Women sometimes have more privilege than men depending on the context.

Appendix I: Second Pool of Items

Item Number	Content Evaluation Panel Reviewed Items	CVR	Content Evaluation Recommendation	Result
Stage One: Critical Exposure				
F-1	I am comfortable with going to the doctor. *	-1		Removed
C-1 (F-2)	I am successful because I worked hard for.	0		Retained for Review
F-3	I am treated differently than other people. *	-1		Removed
F-4	I believe a man's primary role is to provide financially for his family. *	-1		Removed
F-5	I believe that a woman's role is to take care of children at home. *	-1		Removed
C-2 (F-6)	I can recall a moment in my life during which I was uncomfortable about how much more privilege I have.	0	Move to Stage 4	Retained for Review
F-7	I could easily find people who talk, look, and think like me on movies and books. *	-1		Removed
F-8	I don't think about my actions when I am surrounded by people who are similar to me. *	-1		Removed
C-3 (F-9)	I feel nervous about saying the wrong thing when I'm around people of a different.	0		Retained for Review
C-4 (F-10)	I feel safe walking around at night.	0		Retained for Review
C-5 (F-11)	I feel uncomfortable when I have to interact with someone different from myself.	1	Move to Stage 2	Retained for Review
C-6 (F-12)	I have felt that a person with less privilege than me is being treated unfairly.	0		Retained for Review
C-7 (F-13)	I have not had a disability that has impaired my everyday functioning.	0		Retained for Review
C-8 (F-14)	I have noticed a friend being treated differently than me because they do not.	0		Retained for Review
F-15	I have often been stopped at the random checking's in airport security. *	-1		Removed

C-9 (F-16)	I have read a book or watched a movie that made me think about my privilege differently.	0		Retained for Review
C-10 (F-17)	I have realized that I am sometimes treated better than someone different based solely on my privilege.	1		Retained for Review
F-18	I have stable Wi-Fi for zoom for virtual classrooms but my classmates don't. *	-1		Removed
C-11 (F-19)	I have taken a class or a workshop that made me realize I had privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-12 (F-20)	I help people who are different from me just as I would my own friends and family.	0		Retained for Review
F-21	I like to advocate for marginalized communities on Facebook only. *	-1		Removed
C-13 (F-22)	I notice that other people are treated differently than me.	1		Retained for Review
C-14 (F-23)	I rarely worry about my actions when I am surrounded by people who are different from me.	0		Retained for Review
C-15 (F-24)	I read a book that made me aware of the advantages I have by being …	1		Retained for Review
C-16 (F-25)	I see examples of injustice when watching TV, reading books, or catching up on the news.	0	Move to later stage	Retained for Review
F-26	I think about injustice. *	-1		Removed
C-17 (F-27)	I was surprised by how different someone else's life is from mine.	1		Retained for Review
C-18 (F-28)	I was taught that everyone is treated equally.	0	Move to Stage 2; rewrite to include belief that everybody is equal and should be treated equally	Retained for Review
F-29	I wish I could walk around in another person's shoes sometimes. *	-1		Removed
C-19 (F-30)	I wonder why other people are treated differently than me.	1		Retained for Review

F-31	I'm comfortable with going to a public bathroom. *	-1		Removed
F-32	I'm comfortable with taking public transportation. *	-1		Removed
C-20 (F-33)	I've read books that make me think I have privilege.	1		Retained for Review
F-34	In public, I am comfortable with being myself, but I don't know why. *	-1		Removed
F-35	My parents told me my gay uncles were roommates. *	-1		Removed
F-36	My parents told me that I could go on a walk at night but told my sister, who is the same age, that she could not go on a walk at night. *	-1		Removed
C-21 (F-37)	My perspective changed when a loved one experienced discrimination because they were …	1		Retained for Review
C-22 (F-38)	People treat me unfairly.	0		Retained for Review
C-23 (F-39)	Someone has told me that I have privilege.	0		Retained for Review
F-40	The majority of individuals within my religious community are heterosexual. *	-1		Removed
F-41	When I was little, I realized boys were treated differently than girls. *	-1		Removed
	Stage Two: Identity Threat			Retained for Review
C-24 (F-42)	I have had taken a class or workshop that made me realize I have special.	1	Move to Stage 1	Retained for Review
C-25 (F-43)	I had an interaction with someone who was so different than me it made me.	1	Move to Stage 1	Retained for Review
C-26 (F-44)	I believe I understand what social privilege is.	0		Retained for Review
F-45	But I am different. *	-1		Removed
C-27 (F-46)	Hard work is the primary reason why I'm successful.	1		Retained for Review
C-28 (F-47)	I no longer understand how to interact with people different from me.	1	Categorize as Stage 2: Cognitive Dissonance	Retained for Review

C-29 (F-48)	I am angry why is life so unfair?	0	Categorize as Stage 2: Affective Dissonance	Retained for Review
C-30 (F-49)	I am worried people will see my achievements as being undeserving.	1		Retained for Review
F-50	I become annoyed when people tell me that I can or can't do something because. *	-1		Removed
C-31 (F-51)	I don't like getting political.	0	Move to Stage 3; essential item for defense but needs to be rewritten for clarity	Retained for Review
C-32 (F-52)	I don't like it when someone tells me I have privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-33 (F-53)	I experience confusion about topics such as privilege.	1		Retained for Review
F-54	I feel angry when … *	-1		Removed
C-34 (F-55)	I feel angry when people say I have privilege because I worked hard to get where I am.	1	Move to Stage 3	Retained for Review
C-35 (F-56)	I feel anxious when the topic of privilege comes up.	1		Retained for Review
C-36 (F-57)	I feel bad when someone calls me white.	0	Rewrite because wouldn't apply to BIPOC persons	Retained for Review
C-37 (F-58)	I feel confused when people talk about privilege as something bad.	0		Retained for Review
F-59	I feel guilty locking away important possessions when my dad's workers come over to the house. *	-1		Removed
C-38 (F-60)	I feel guilty thinking about all the ways I have oppressed people.	0	Move to Stage 4	Retained for Review
F-61	I feel guilty when …	-1		Removed
F-62	I feel guilty when I notice myself locking the car door in a "bad neighborhood."	-1		Removed
F-63	I feel guilty when I would lock away important possessions when one of my dad's workers came over the house. *	-1		Removed
F-64	I feel I am better than other people. *	-1		Removed

C-39 (F-65)	I feel like everything I have learned about ... is a lie.	1	Fill in the blank with “American History”	Retained for Review
C-40 (F-66)	I feel offended when people criticize individualism.	1	Move to Stage 3	Retained for Review
C-41 (F-67)	I feel sad when I think about what I have that others don’t.	1		Retained for Review
C-42 (F-68)	I feel upset when people said I had privilege because I worked hard to get where I am	1		Retained for Review
C-43 (F-69)	I feel weird around people of color.	0	Needs more specificity	Retained for Review
C-44 (F-70)	I feel weird around trans people.	0	Needs more specificity	Retained for Review
C-45 (F-71)	I get angry when people assume things about me just by looking at me.	1	Move to Stage 3	Retained for Review
C-46 (F-72)	I had difficulties growing up, therefore I don’t have privilege.	0	Move to Stage 3	Retained for Review
C-47 (F-73)	I hate it when my female friends point out that I’m male/a dude.	0	Too specific	Retained for Review
F-74	I hate Trump and all the cops. *	-1		Removed
C-48 (F-75)	I have feelings of anxiety when others' opinions of privilege differ than my own.	0		Retained for Review
F-76	I question if my male identity diminishes what I have accomplished. *	-1		Removed
C-49 (F-77)	I don’t understand how to interact with different people anymore.	1		Retained for Review
F-78	I question if my white identity diminishes what I have accomplished. *	-1		Removed
C-50 (F-79)	Hard work is why I’m successful.	1	Move to Stage 3	Retained for Review
F-80	I question if my white identity… *	-1		Removed
C-51 (F-81)	I regret my previous thoughts about a group of people.	1	Move to Stage 4	Retained for Review
C-52 (F-82)	I see things differently when thinking about my privilege.	0	Move to Stage 4	Retained for Review
C-53 (F-83)	I suddenly doubt my own value relative to other people.	1		Retained for Review
F-84	I would rather not think about how I benefit from being white. *	-1		Removed

F-85	I'm angry why life is so unfair.	-1		Removed
F-86	I'm ashamed of things my ancestors have done. *	-1		Removed
F-87	I'm not comfortable with women having equal rights. *	-1	Try to keep but rewrite tot be more generalizable	Removed
C-54 (F-88)	I'm not responsible for slavery… I wasn't even born then.	0	Move to Stage 3	Retained for Review
C-55 (F-89)	I'm not sure if privilege is real.	1		Retained for Review
C-56 (F-90)	I'm not sure what social privilege is.	0	Rewrite for clarity	Retained for Review
F-91	Just because I'm a man doesn't mean I'm sexist *	-1		Removed
F-92	Just because I'm white doesn't mean I am racist. *	-1		Removed
C-57 (F-93)	My parents never said anything about my privilege.	0	Move to Stage 3	Retained for Review
C-58 (F-94)	Please don't make me feel bad for somebody else's mistakes.	0	Move to Stage 3	Retained for Review
C-59 (F-95)	The world suddenly feels much more complicated.	1		Retained for Review
C-60 (F-96)	When others point out my privilege, I feel threatened.	1		Retained for Review
C-61 (F-97)	I get confused about privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-62 (F-98)	I'm not sure what social privilege is	1	Rewrite and add "but I think it exists"	Retained for Review
C-63 (F-99)	I'm not sure why or how social privilege applies to me.	1	Move to Stage 3 Defense	Retained for Review
C-64 (F-100)	I feel guilt about my privileged position in society.	1		Retained for Review
C-65 (F-101	I feel shame about my privileged position in society.	1		Retained for Review
C-66 (F-102)	Because of my identity, I feel guilt or shame for being a part of America's history of oppression.	1		Retained for Review

C-67 (F-103)	I feel anxious whenever the topic of privilege comes up.	0		Retained for Review
C -68 (F-104)	I am afraid about what the idea of privilege says or means about me.	1		Retained for Review
C-69 (F-105)	The concept of privilege makes me feel sad.	0		Retained for Review
C-70 (F-106)	The concept of privilege makes me feel angry.	0		Retained for Review
C-71 (F-107)	Homeless people are so sad, they could turn it around if they got a job.	0		Retained for Review
	Stage Three: Identity Protection			Retained for Review
C-72 (F-108)	I don't see race – we are all human and that's all that matters.	0		Retained for Review
C-73 (F-109)	I enjoy publicly donating my time, energy, and resources.	0		Retained for Review
C-74 (F-110)	I feel compelled to make my advocacy publicly visible.	1	Categorize as Empty Advocacy	Retained for Review
F-111	I give a lot of money to my church. *	-1		Removed
C-75 (F-112)	I have so much going on. I can't save the world.	0	Move to Stage 2; rewrite for clarity	Retained for Review
C-76 (F-113)	I know most of what there is to know about privilege.	1		Retained for Review
F-114	I like to help homeless people. *	-1		Removed
C-77 (F-115)	I like to point out when other people are making microaggressions.	1		Retained for Review
C-78 (F-116)	I like to treat people who are different from me much better than I would treat my family or friends.	1		Retained for Review
C-79 (F-117)	I like to volunteer with people who are different than me.	0	Categorize as Empty advocacy	Retained for Review
C-80 (F-118)	I like to watch tv shows that make me feel comfortable.	0	Rewrite for clarity	Retained for Review
C-81 (F-119)	I love exploring other cultures.	0	Rewrite for clarity	Retained for Review
F-120	I posted on social media, so now I'm not racist. *	-1		Removed

F-121	I recently started following a lot of Black people on social media. *	-1		Removed
F-122	I said racist things in the past because I didn't know better. *	-1		Removed
C-82 (F-123)	I spend a lot of time trying to "fix" less privileged people.	0	Rewrite	Retained for Review
C-83 (F-124)	I think sometimes that other people should follow my example when interacting with people who are different from them.	0	Rewrite for clarity	Retained for Review
C-84 (F-125)	I think we're all unique people and no one has more power than another.	0		Retained for Review
F-126	I will be friends with someone who is from a different race, I just won't marry them. *	-1		Removed
C-85 (F-127)	I will be friends with someone who is from a different religion, I just won't marry them.	0		Retained for Review
C-86 (F-128)	I will be friends with someone who is from a different religion, or a different race, I just won't marry them.	0		Retained for Review
F-129	I'm not anti-gay because I go to pride parades. *	-1		Removed
F-130	I'm not racist because most of my friends are people of color. *	-1		Removed
F-131	I'm the head of my school's diversity committee. *	-1		Removed
C-87 (F-132)	I've read a lot of books on slavery, so I'm not a racist.	0		Retained for Review
C-88 (F-133)	If people don't want to be treated differently, then they shouldn't act differently.	0		Retained for Review
F-134	If some people tried harder they wouldn't be homeless or poor. *	-1		Removed
C-89 (F-135)	If we all lived by the golden rule, privilege wouldn't be an issue.	1		Retained for Review
C-90 (F-136)	It is important that I post advocacy material on social media during peak times so my friends will see the posts.	0		Retained for Review

C-91 (F-137)	It makes me feel good to volunteer.	0	Too broad and general, rewrite for clarity	Retained for Review
F-138	Not all cops are bad. *	-1		Removed
F-139	People are so sensitive and easily offended (SNOWFLAKES!). *	-1		Removed
C-92 (F-140)	Privilege can convince people they are victims.	0		Retained for Review
C-93 (F-141)	Privilege is a democratic hoax.	0		Retained for Review
C-94 (F-142)	Privilege is just a political agenda.	0		Retained for Review
C-95 (F-143)	Prove to me that racism exists.	1	Categorize as Stage 3 Defense	Retained for Review
C-96 (F-144)	Racism should be a psychological disease, it only affects a few really sick people.	1		Retained for Review
C-97 (F-145)	Racists are insane.	0		Retained for Review
F-146	Some women are just “asking for it.” *	-1	Too specific	Removed
F-147	Sure, I’ve said racist things in the past but I didn’t know better. *	-1		Removed
C-98 (F-148)	The most important thing is to help less fortunate folks.	1		Retained for Review
C-99 (F-149)	The world would be a better place if we all treated those less fortunate than ourselves with a little respect.	1		Retained for Review
F-150	They are just lazy. *	-1		Removed
F-151	This is just some political propaganda. *	-1		Removed
F-152	Those people had it coming. *	-1		Removed
C-100 (F-153)	We all need to seize our own opportunities.	1		Retained for Review
C-101 (F-154)	When women where low cut shirts, they want my attention.	0		Retained for Review
C-102 (F-155)	History has shown that some groups of people (e.g. White, educated, American-born citizens) are better than others.	1		Retained for Review

F-156	If some groups of people simply tried harder, they wouldn't be homeless or poor. *	-1		Removed
C-103 (F-157)	Isms such as racism and sexism shouldn't be a political issue.	1		Retained for Review
C-104 (F-158)	If we just acknowledge that we're all equal isms wouldn't be an issue.	1		Retained for Review
C-105 (F-159)	Whether I have privilege depends on the context I'm in and who I'm with.	1		Retained for Review
C-106 (F-160)	I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups.	0	Rewrite to include "to help people less fortunate than me"	Retained for Review
C-107 (F-161)	When I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups, I feel better about myself.	0		Retained for Review
C-108 (F-162)	When I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups, I wonder if I'm really helping them.	1	Move to Stage 4	Retained for Review
C-109 (F-163)	I wonder how to be a good ally.	1	Move to Stage 4	Retained for Review
	Stage Four: Reconciliation Items			Retained for Review
C-110 (F-164)	I expect to feel confusion as a natural part of my privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-111 (F-165)	I have privilege and I'm willing to use my platforms to advocate.	0		Retained for Review
C-112 (F-166)	I have received a lot of help.	0	Rewrite for more specificity	Retained for Review
F-167	I hold a lot of privilege. *	-1		Removed
F-168	I know I have blind spots and I need others to help me. *	-1	Try to keep with rewrite	Removed
C-113 (F-169)	I know that naming my privilege does not mean I no longer have it.	1		Retained for Review
C-114 (F-170)	I recognize that silence can be an enaction of my privilege (silence is violence)..	1		Retained for Review
C-115 (F-171)	I think that White people should talk to other White people about racism.	1	Rewrite to be about people with Social Privilege, more gneralized	Retained for Review

C-116 (F-172)	I try to validate others who have experienced oppression and internalize that in my future actions.	1		Retained for Review
C-117 (F-173)	I understand privilege is part of who I am and the society I live in.	0		Retained for Review
C-118 (F-174)	I understand that I hold a lot of privilege as a white person.	0		Retained for Review
C-119 (F-175)	I understand that there is no right or wrong way to handle tough situations.	0		Retained for Review
F-176	I want to break free of my socialized privileged thoughts/feelings/actions. *	-1	Try to keep and move to Stage 3 Empty Advocacy with rewrite	Removed
F-177	I want to have black leaders in my organization. *	-1		Removed
C-120 (F-178)	I welcome feedback about how my privilege is influencing relationships.	1		Retained for Review
C-121 (F-179)	I'm done looking for forgiveness.	0	Rewrite for clarity, e.g. "I know I need to stop assuaging my own social privilege guilt" or "I'm not going to be the co-dependent ally anymore"	Retained for Review
C-122 (F-180)	I'm eager to help others explore their own privileges.	0		Retained for Review
C-123 (F-181)	I should help others on their privilege journey.	0		Retained for Review
C-124 (F-182)	I'm finding ways to use my privilege to advocate with not for.	1		Retained for Review
C-125 (F-183)	I'm learning to accept my privilege, not get rid of it.	1		Retained for Review
C-126 (F-184)	I'm on a continuous journey of learning.	0	Rewrite for specificity, too vague	Retained for Review
C-127 (F-185)	I'm willing to lose friends or relationships as I understand myself differently..	0		Retained for Review

C-128 (F-186)	I’m willing to see myself in a less-than-desirable light.	0	Rewrite for specificity, too vague	Retained for Review
C-129 (F-187)	I’m willing to accept loss as a way to reconstruct privileges.	0		Retained for Review
C-130 (F-188)	I’m willing to admit my mistakes.	0	Rewrite for specificity, too vague e.g., “I'm willing to admit I made mistakes about being ally”	Retained for Review
C-131 (F-189)	I’m willing to lose power …	0	Rewrite for specificity, too vague	Retained for Review
C-132 (F-190)	I’m willing to lose who I thought I was.	0		Retained for Review
C-133 (F-191)	It’s important to support others who have privilege.	0	Rewrite to include aspect of helping other privileged people explore their own privilege	Retained for Review
F-192	Knowing that I have privilege, I feel responsible to … *	-1		Removed
C-134 (F-193)	My relationships can benefit from the insight of privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-135 (F-194)	Privilege acts as a “blinder”, making me unaware of some truths in the world.	1		Retained for Review
C-136 (F-195)	Privilege scares the shit out of me, but I know that’s normal.	1		Retained for Review
F-196	Reconciliation is a willingness to manifest the power that comes with privilege in order to dismantle that privilege. *	-1		Removed
C-137 (F-197)	Some of my thoughts/feelings/reactions are due to being socialized as a privileged person.	1		Retained for Review
C-138 (F-198)	The way I enact my privilege is socialized.	1		Retained for Review
C-139 (F-199)	The work of being a privileged person is to be uncomfortable.	1		Retained for Review

C-140 (F-200)	Understanding privilege is an important tool in making our society better.	1		Retained for Review
F-201	With great power comes great responsibility (not just acknowledgement of the power). *	-1		Removed
C-141 (F-202)	Privilege is part of who I am.	0		Retained for Review
C-142 (F-203)	Even though I feel guilt and shame about my privilege, I also know I will be okay.	1		Retained for Review
C-143 (F-204)	Being a good ally entails reflecting on my privilege before taking action..	1		Retained for Review
C-144 (F-205)	Because of my privilege, I believe I believe anti-oppression work entails talking to or working with other privileged people.	1		Retained for Review
Researcher Addition of General Knowledge & Experiences of Social Privilege				Retained for Review
C-145 (F-206)	Social privilege provides unearned advantages based on identity categories.	1		Retained for Review
C-146 (F-207)	My social privilege comes at the expense of others.	1		Retained for Review
C-147 (F-208)	Social privilege is a systemic issue.	0		Retained for Review
F-209	Isms are less about policies and more about people's ignorance or hatred of difference. *	-1		Removed
C-148 (F-210)	Because of my awareness of my privilege, I have lost relationships or experience tension in them.	1		Retained for Review
Researcher Addition of Awareness of Social Identity Domain				Retained for Review
C-149 (F-211)	Depending on their age, a person's age can grant privilege..	0		Retained for Review
C-150 (F-212)	People who have a disability do not have privilege.	0		Retained for Review
C-151 (F-213)	People who have an invisible disability have privilege.	0		Retained for Review
C-152 (F-214)	People who identify as agnostic or atheist do not have privilege.	0	Reverse Score	Retained for Review

C-153 (F-215)	People who identify as Christian always have privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-154 (F-216)	People who are White always have privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-155 (F-217)	Biracial people have privilege because it is considered desirable or exotic.	1	Reverse score	Retained for Review
C-156 (F-218)	Biracial people have privilege because they can get "the best of both worlds."	1	Reverse score	Retained for Review
C-157 (F-219)	People who come from a middle class background have privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-158 (F-220)	People who come from an upper middle class background have privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-159 (F-221)	People who identify as LGBTQIA+ do not have privilege.	0		Retained for Review
C-160 (F-222)	People who have an indigenous or Native American background do not have privilege.	0		Retained for Review
C-161 (F-223)	People who are born in the U.S. have privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-162 (F-224)	People who have U.S. citizenship have privilege.	1		Retained for Review
C-163 (F-225)	Gender identity is a choice.	0	Reverse Score	Retained for Review
C-164 (F-226)	People who identify with their gender which was assigned at birth have privilege.	0		Retained for Review
C-165 (F-227)	Men always have privilege compared to women.	0		Retained for Review
C-166 (F-228)	Women sometimes have more privilege than men depending on the context.	0	Reverse Score	Retained for Review

**Removed items*

Appendix J: Third Pool of Items

Item number	Researcher review items (Phase I)	CVR	Researcher Review	Result
Stage One: Critical Exposure				
R-1 (F-2)	I am successful because I worked hard for it.	0	Moved to Stage 3; Defense	Consolidated as Item No. 23
R-2 (C-2; F-6)	I can recall a moment in my life during which I was uncomfortable about how much more privilege I have.	0	Kept for Stage 1; Determined to be useful for Comparative Exposure,	Retained as Item No. 6
R-3 (C-3; F-9)	I feel nervous about saying the wrong thing when I'm around people of a different.	0	Moved to Stage 3; Empty Advocacy	Rewritten as Item No. 51
C-4 (F-10)	I feel safe walking around at night. *	0	Too vague	Removed
R-4 (C-5; F-11)	I feel uncomfortable when I have to interact with someone different from myself.	1	Moved to Stage 2	Consolidated as Item No. 21
R-5 (C-6; F-12)	I have felt that a person with less privilege than me is being treated unfairly.	0	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 1
C-7 (F-13)	I have not had a disability that has impaired my everyday functioning. *	0	Inappropriate, asks about demographic and not social privilege awareness	Removed
R-6 (C-8; F-14)	I have noticed a friend being treated differently than me because they do not.	0	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 3
R-7 C-9 (F-16)	I have read a book or watched a movie that made me think about my privilege differently.	0	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 8
R-8 (C-10; F-17)	I have realized that I am sometimes treated better than someone different based solely on my privilege.	1	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 1
R-9 (C-11; F-19)	I have taken a class or a workshop that made me realize I had privilege.	1	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 7
R-10 (C-12; F-20)	I help people who are different from me just as I would my own friends and family.	0	Moved to Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 46
R-11 (C-13; F-22)	I notice that other people are treated differently than me.	1	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 1
C-14 (F-23)	I rarely worry about my actions when I am surrounded by people who are different from me. *	0	Moved to Stage 4; confusing/ambiguous	Removed

R-12 (C-15; F-24)	I read a book that made me aware of the advantages I have by being …	1	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 8
R-13 (C-16; F-25)	I see examples of injustice when watching TV, reading books, or catching up on the news.	0	Kept for Stage 1	Rewritten as Item No. 5
R-14 (C-17; F-27)	I was surprised by how different someone else's life is from mine.	1	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 1
R-15 (C-18; F-28)	I was taught that everyone is treated equally.	0	Moved to Stage 3; Determined to be useful for Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 57
C-19 (F-30)	I wonder why other people are treated differently than me. *	1	Moved to Stage 2 Cognitive Dissonance; inappropriate as it seems to measure pre-awareness of social privilege	Removed
R-16 (C-20; F-33)	I've read books that make me think I have privilege.	1	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 8
R-17 (C-21; F-37)	My perspective changed when a loved one experienced discrimination because they were …	1	Kept for Stage 1	Consolidated as Item No. 3
C-22 (F-38)	People treat me unfairly. *	0	Too vague/ambiguous	Removed
C-23 (F-39)	Someone has told me that I have privilege. *	0	Inappropriate for Critical Exposure, does not indicate awareness of social privilege	Removed
Stage Two: Identity Threat				
R-18 (C-24; F-42)	I have had taken a class or workshop that made me realize I have special advantages because of who I am.	1	Move to Stage 1 Cognitive Exposure	Consolidated as Item No. 7
R-19 (C-25; F-43)	I had an interaction with someone who was so different than me it made me.	1	Move to Stage 1 Comparative Exposure	Rewritten as Item No. 2
R-20 (C-26; (F-44)	I believe I understand what social privilege is.	0	Moved to Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 55
R-21 (C-27; F-46)	Hard work is the primary reason why I'm successful.	1	Moved to Stage 3 Defense	Consolidated as Item No.23

R-22 (C-28; F-47)	I no longer understand how to interact with people different from me.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 21
R-23 (C-29; F-48)	I am angry why is life so unfair?	0	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 18
R-24 (C-30; F-49)	I am worried people will see my achievements as being undeserving.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance; Needs clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 22
R-25 (C-31; F-51)	I don't like getting political.	0	Moved to Stage 3 Defense; Needs Clarity	Consolidated as Item No. 35
R-26 (C-32; F-52)	I don't like it when someone tells me I have privilege.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 14
R-27 (C-33; F-53)	I experience confusion about topics such as privilege.	1	Kept for stag 2 Cognitive Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 10
R-28 (C-34; F-55)	I feel angry when people say I have privilege because I worked hard to get where I am.	1	Moved to Stage 3 Defense	Consolidated as Item No. 23
R-29 (C-35; F-56)	I feel anxious when the topic of privilege comes up.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item no. 24
R-30 (C-36; F-57)	I feel bad when someone calls me white.	0	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance; too specific and needs to be generalized	Consolidated as Item No. 15
C-37 (F-58)	I feel confused when people talk about privilege as something bad. *	0	Moved to Stage 4; confusing item	Removed
R-31 (C-38; F-60)	I feel guilty thinking about all the ways I have oppressed people.	0	Kept for Stage 2; Determined to be useful for capturing guilt within Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 20
R-32 (C-39; F-65)	I feel like everything I have learned about ... is a lie.	1	Moved to General Knowledge/Experience of Social Privilege	Rewritten as Item No. 99
R-33 (C-40; F-66)	I feel offended when people criticize individualism.	1	Moved to Stage 3; Determined to be useful for capturing Dilution	Consolidated as Item No. 38

R-34 (C-41; F-67)	I feel sad when I think about what I have that others don't.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 20
R-35 (C-42; F-68)	I feel upset when people said I had privilege because I worked hard to get where I am	1	Moved to Stage 3; Determined to be helpful for capturing Defense	Consolidated as Item No. 23
R-36 (C-43; F-69)	I feel weird around people of color.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 21
R-37 (C-44; F-70)	I feel weird around trans people.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 21
R-38 (C-45; F-71)	I get angry when people assume things about me just by looking at me.	1	Moved to Stage 3; Captures Defense, needs clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 34
R-39 (C-46; F-72)	I had difficulties growing up, therefore I don't have privilege.	0	Moved to Stage 3; Captures Defense, needs clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 33
R-40 (C-47; F-73)	I hate it when my female friends point out that I'm male/a dude.	0	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance, too specific	Consolidated as Item No. 15
R-41 (C-48; F-75)	I have feelings of anxiety when others' opinions of privilege differ than my own.	0	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance, too specific	Consolidated as Item No. 14
R-42 (C-49; F-77)	I don't understand how to interact with different people anymore	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance, needs clarity	Consolidated as Item No. 21
R-43 (C-50; F-79)	Hard work is why I'm successful.	1	Move to Stage 3; Captures Defense	Consolidated as Item No. 23
R-44 (C-51; F-81)	I regret my previous thoughts about a group of people.	1	Moved to Stage 4; Captures Integration, needs clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 83
C-52 (F-82)	I see things differently when thinking about my privilege. *	0	Moved to Stage 4; too confusing/ambiguous	Removed
R-45 (C-53; F-83)	I suddenly doubt my own value relative to other people.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Cognitive Dissonance, needs clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 11
R-46 (C-54; F-88)	I'm not responsible for slavery… I wasn't even born then.	0	Moved to Stage 3; Captures Defense, too specific	Rewritten as Item No. 25

R-47 (C-55, F-89)	I'm not sure if privilege is real.	1	Moved to Stage 3; Captures Dilution	Consolidated as Item No. 36
R-48 (C-56, F-90)	I'm not sure what social privilege is.	0	Moved to Stage 3; Captures Dilution	Consolidated as Item No. 36
C-57 (F-93)	My parents never said anything about my privilege. *	0	Kept for Stage 2, confusing/ambiguous	Removed
R-49 (C-58; F-94)	Please don't make me feel bad for somebody else's mistakes.	0	Move to Stage 3; Captures Defense, too vague	Rewritten as Item No. 27
R-50 (C-59; F-95)	The world suddenly feels much more complicated.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Cognitive Dissonance	Rewritten as Item No. 12
R-51 (C-60; F-96)	When others point out my privilege, I feel threatened.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 15
R-52 (C-61; F-97)	I get confused about privilege .	1	Kept for Stage 2 Cognitive Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 10
R-53 (C-62; F-98)	I'm not sure what social privilege is.	1	Moved to Stage 3; Captures Dilution, add uncertainty about its existence in rewrite	Consolidated as Item No. 36
R-54 (C-63; F-99)	I'm not sure why or how social privilege applies to me.	1	Kept for Stage 2, Determined to be helpful in capturing Cognitive Dissonance	Rewritten as Item No. 13
R-55 (C-64; F-100)	I feel guilt about my privileged position in society.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 16
R-56 (C-65; F-101)	I feel shame about my privileged position in society.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 16
R-57C-66 (F-102)	Because of my identity, I feel guilt or shame for being a part of America's history of oppression.	1	Moved to Stage 4; Captures Integration	Retained as item No. 87
R-58 (C-67; F-103)	I feel anxious whenever the topic of privilege comes up.	0	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 14
R-59 (C -68; F-104)	I am afraid about what the idea of privilege says or means about me.	1	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Rewritten as Item No. 19
R-60 (C-69; F-105)	The concept of privilege makes me feel sad.	0	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Rewritten as Item No. 17

R-61 (C-70; F-106)	The concept of privilege makes me feel angry.	0	Kept for Stage 2 Affective Dissonance	Consolidated as Item No. 18
C-71 (F-107)	Homeless people are so sad, they could turn it around if they got a job. *	0	Too specific	Removed
Stage Three: Identity Protection				Retained for Review
R-62 (C-72; F-108)	I don't see race – we are all human and that's all that matters.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Dilution	Rewritten as Item No. 41
R-63 (C-73; F-109)	I enjoy publicly donating my time, energy, and resources.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 45
R-64 (C-74; F-110)	I feel compelled to make my advocacy publicly visible.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 45
R-65 (C-75; F-112)	I have so much going on. I can't save the world.	0	Moved to Stage 2; Captures Dilution, rewrite for clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 39
R-66 (C-76; F-113)	I know most of what there is to know about privilege.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 55
R-67 (C-77; F-115)	I like to point out when other people are making microaggressions.	1	Moved to Stage 4; Captures Agent to Agent Advocacy, rewrite for clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 94
R-68 (C-78; F-116)	I like to treat people who are different from me much better than I would treat my family or friends.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 46
R-69 (C-79; F-117)	I like to volunteer with people who are different than me.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 48
C-80 (F-118)	I like to watch tv shows that make me feel comfortable. *	0	Too vague	Removed
R-70 (C-81; F-119)	I love exploring other cultures.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy, rewrite for clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 58
R-71 (C-82; F-123)	I spend a lot of time trying to "fix" less privileged people.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy, rewrite for clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 47
C-83 (F-124)	I think sometimes that other people should follow my example when interacting with people who are different from them. *	0	Confusing/ambiguous	Removed

R-72 (C-84; F-125)	I think we're all unique people and no one has more power than another.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Dilution	Consolidated as Item No. 38
C-85 (F-127)	I will be friends with someone who is from a different religion, I just won't marry them. *	0	Confusing/ambiguous, too specific	Removed
C-86 (F-128)	I will be friends with someone who is from a different religion, or a different race, I just won't marry them. *	0	Confusing/ambiguous, too specific	Removed
C-87 (F-132)	I've read a lot of books on slavery, so I'm not a racist. *	0	Too specific	Removed
R-73 (C-88; F-133)	If people don't want to be treated differently, then they shouldn't act differently.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Defense	Retained as Item No. 31
R-74 (C-89; F-135)	If we all lived by the golden rule, privilege wouldn't be an issue.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 57
R-75 (C-90; F-136)	It is important that I post advocacy material on social media during peak times so my friends will see the posts.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 45
R-76 (C-91; F-137)	It makes me feel good to volunteer	0	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy, rewrite for clarity	Consolidated as Item No. 59
C-92 (F-140)	Privilege can convince people they are victims. *	0	Confusing/Ambiguous	Removed
R-77 (C-93; F-141)	Privilege is a democratic hoax.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Defense	Consolidated as Item No. 32
R-78 (C-94; F-142)	Privilege is just a political agenda.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Defense	Consolidated as Item No. 32
R-79 (C-95; F-143)	Prove to me that racism exists.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Defense	Rewritten as Item No. 29
R-80 (C-96; F-144)	Racism should be a psychological disease, it only affects a few really sick people.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Dilution	Consolidated as Item No. 43
R-81 (C-97; F-145)	Racists are insane.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Dilution	Consolidated as Item No. 43
R-81 (C-98; F-148)	The most important thing is to help less fortunate folks.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 56

R-83 (C-99; F-149)	The world would be a better place if we all treated those less fortunate than ourselves with a little respect.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 56
R-84 (C-100; F-153)	We all need to seize our own opportunities.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Defense	Rewritten as Item No. 30
C-101 (F-154)	When women where low cut shirts, they want my attention. *	0	Too specific	Removed
R-85 (C-102; F-155)	History has shown that some groups of people (e.g. White, educated, American-born citizens) are better than others.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Defense	Retained as Item No. 28
R-86 (C-103; F-157)	Isms such as racism and sexism shouldn't be a political issue.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Dilution	Consolidated as Item No. 35
R-87 (C-104; F-158)	If we just acknowledge that we're all equal isms wouldn't be an issue.	1	Kept for stage 3 Dilution	Retained as Item No. 40
R-88 (C-105; F-159)	Whether I have privilege depends on the context I'm in and who I'm with.	1	Kept for Stage 3 Dilution	Retained as Item No. 42
R-89 (C-106; F-160)	I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy, rewrite to include "to help people less fortunate than me"	Consolidated as Item No. 48
R-90 (C-107; F-161)	When I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups, I feel better about myself.	0	Kept for Stage 3 Empty Advocacy	Retained as Item No. 59
R-91 (C-108; F-162)	When I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups, I wonder if I'm really helping them.	1	Moved to Stage 4; Captures Integration	Consolidated as Item No. 88
R-92 (C-109; F-163)	I wonder how to be a good ally.	1	Moved to Stage 4; Captures Integration	Consolidated as Item No. 88
Stage Four: Reconciliation				
R-93 (C-110; F-164)	I expect to feel confusion as a natural part of my privilege.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance	Rewritten as Item No. 60
R-94 (C-111; F-165)	I have privilege and I'm willing to use my platforms to advocate.	0	Kept for Stage 4	Consolidated as Item No. 90
R-95 (C-112; F-166)	I have received a lot of help.	0	Kept for Stage 4, Agent t Agent Advocacy, rewrite for clarification	Rewritten as Item No. 92

R-96 (C-113; F-169)	I know that naming my privilege does not mean I no longer have it.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance	Rewritten as Item No. 61
R-97 (C-114; F-170)	I recognize that silence can be an enaction of my privilege (silence is violence).	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Rewritten as Item No. 72
R-98 (C-115; F-171)	I think that White people should talk to other White people about racism.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Agent to Agent Advocacy, rewrite to be about people with Social Privilege/more generalized	Consolidated as Item no. 89
R-99 (C-116; F-172)	I try to validate others who have experienced oppression and internalize that in my future actions.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Retained as Item No. 86
R-100 (C-117; F-173)	I understand privilege is part of who I am and the society I live in.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance	Consolidated as Item No. 64
R-101 (C-118; F-174)	I understand that I hold a lot of privilege as a white person.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance	Rewritten as Item No. 71
C-119 (F-175)	I understand that there is no right or wrong way to handle tough situations. *	0	Too vague/ambiguous; can apply to situations/experiences outside of social privilege	Removed
R-102 (C-120; F-178)	I welcome feedback about how my privilege is influencing relationships.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Consolidated as Item No. 85
C-121 (F-179)	I'm done looking for forgiveness. *	0	Too vague, other items about being okay with guilt already exist	Removed
R-103 (C-122; F-180)	I'm eager to help others explore their own privileges.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Agent to Agent Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 91
R-104 (C-123; F-181)	I should help others on their privilege journey.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Agent to Agent Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 91
R-105 (C-124; F-182)	I'm finding ways to use my privilege to advocate with not for.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Agent to Agent Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 90
R-106 (C-125; F-183)	I'm learning to accept my privilege, not get rid of it.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance	Retained as Item No. 62
R-107 (C-126; F-184)	I'm on a continuous journey of learning.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Integration, rewrite for specificity	Rewritten as Item No. 73

R-108 (C-127; F-185)	I'm willing to lose friends or relationships as I understand myself differently.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance	Rewritten as Item No. 66
R-109 (C-128 (F-186)	I'm willing to see myself in a less-than-desirable light.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance. rewrite for specificity	Rewritten as Item No. 68
R-110 (C-129; F-187)	I'm willing to accept loss as a way to reconstruct privileges.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance	Consolidated as Item no. 69
R-111 (C-130; F-188)	I'm willing to admit my mistakes.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Integration, rewrite for specificity	Rewritten as Item No. 82
R-112 (C-131; F-189)	I'm willing to lose power…	0	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance, rewrite for clarity	Consolidated as Item No. 69
R-113 (C-132; F-190)	I'm willing to lose who I thought I was.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance, rewrite for clarity	Rewritten as Item No. 68
R-114 (C-133; F-191)	It's important to support others who have privilege.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Agent to Agent Advocacy, rewrite to include aspect of helping other privileged people explore their own privilege	Consolidated as Item No. 91
R-115 (C-134; F-193)	My relationships can benefit from the insight of privilege.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Retained as Item No. 85
R-116 (C-135; F-194)	Privilege acts as a "blinder", making me unaware of some truths in the world.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Rewritten as Item No. 74
R-117 (C-136; F-195)	Privilege scares the shit out of me, but I know that's normal.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Rewritten as Item No. 65
R-118 (C-137; F-197)	Some of my thoughts/feelings/reactions are due to being socialized as a privileged person.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Consolidated as Item No. 84
R-119 (C-138; F-198)	The way I enact my privilege is socialized.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Consolidated as Item No. 84
R-120 (C-139; F-198)	The work of being a privileged person is to be uncomfortable.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Rewritten as Item No. 80
R-121 (C-140; F-199)	Understanding privilege is an important tool in making our society better.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Rewritten as Item No. 75

R-122 (C-141; F-201)	Privilege is part of who I am.	0	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance	Consolidated as Item No. 64
R-123 (C-142; F-202)	Even though I feel guilt and shame about my privilege, I also know I will be okay.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Acceptance	Retained as Item No. 63
R-124 (C-143; F-203)	Being a good ally entails reflecting on my privilege before taking action.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Integration	Rewritten as Item No. 76
R-125 (C-144; F-204)	Because of my privilege, I believe I believe anti-oppression work entails talking to or working with other privileged people.	1	Kept for Stage 4 Agent to Agent Advocacy	Consolidated as Item No. 89
Researcher Addition of General Knowledge & Experiences of Social Privilege				Retained for Review
R-126 (C-145; F-205)	Social privilege provides unearned advantages based on identity categories.	1	Kept for General Knowledge & Experiences of Social Privilege	Retained as Item No. 95
R-127 (C-146; F-206)	My social privilege comes at the expense of others.	1	Kept for General Knowledge & Experiences of Social Privilege	Retained as Item No. 96
R-128 (C-147; F-207)	Social privilege is a systemic issue.	0	Kept for General Knowledge & Experiences of Social Privilege	Retained as Item No. 100
R-129 (C-148; F-209)	Because of my awareness of my privilege, I have lost relationships or experience tension in.	1	Kept for General Knowledge & Experiences of Social Privilege	Retained as Item No. 97
Researcher Addition of Awareness of Social Identity Domain				
R-130 (C-149; F-210)	Depending on their age, a person's age can grant privilege.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item No. 101
R-131 (C-150; F-211)	People who have a disability do not have privilege.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item No. 102
R-132 (C-151; F-212)	People who have an invisible disability have privilege.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item No. 103
R-133 (C-152; F-213)	People who identify as agnostic or atheist do not have privilege.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain (Reverse score)	Retained as Item No. 104
R-134 (C-153; F-214)	People who identify as Christian always have privilege.	1	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item No. 105

R-135 (C-154; F-215)	People who are White always have privilege.	1	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item as No. 106
R-136 (C-155; F-216)	Biracial people have privilege because it is considered desirable or exotic.	1	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain (Reverse score)	Retained as Item No. 107
R-137 (C-156; F-217)	Biracial people have privilege because they can get "the best of both worlds."	1	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain (Reverse score)	Retained as Item No. 108
R-138 (C-157; F-218)	People who come from a middle class background have privilege.	1	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Consolidated as Item No. 109
R-139 (C-158; F-219)	People who come from an upper middle class background have privilege.	1	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Consolidated as Item No. 109
R-140 (C-159; F-220)	People who identify as LGBTQIA+ do not have privilege.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item No. 110
R-141 (C-160; F-221)	People who have an indigenous or Native American background do not have privilege.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item No. 111
R-142 (C-161; F-222)	People who are born in the U.S. have privilege.	1	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item No. 113
R-143 (C-162; F-223)	People who have U.S. citizenship have privilege.	1	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained Item No. 112
R-144 (C-163; F-234)	Gender identity is a choice.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain (Reverse score)	Retained as Item No. 114
R-145 (C-164; F-225)	People who identify with their gender which was assigned at birth have privilege.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item No. 115
R-146 (C-165; F-226)	Men always have privilege compared to women.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain	Retained as Item No. 116
R-147 (C-166; F-227)	Women sometimes have more privilege than men depending on the context.	0	Kept for Awareness of Social Identity Domain (Reverse score)	Retained as Item No. 117)

**Removed or consolidated items*

Appendix K: Finalized Pool of Items

Item number	Finalized items	Past variations (researcher review item number)
Stage 1: Critical exposure		
Comparative exposure		
1	I notice that some people are treated differently than me because I have social privilege.	Consolidated: R-5, R-8, R-11, R-14
2	I realized I have social privilege when I interacted with someone who was so different than me my privilege was impossible to ignore.	Rewritten: R-19
3	I realized I have social privilege when someone I care about experienced discrimination because of their social identity and lack of privilege.	Consolidated: R-6, R-17
4	I can recall a moment in my life I was uncomfortable about how much social privilege I have.	New: Researcher added
5	I realized I have privilege when I read about/watched/ someone being discriminated against because of their social identity and lack of privilege.	Rewritten: R-13
6	I realized I have privilege when I watched a movie/tv show/news story that featured people who do not have a privileged social identity.	Retained: R-2
Cognitive exposure		
7	I have taken a class/workshop/training that made me realize I have privilege due to one or more of my social identities.	Consolidated: R-9, R-18
8	I have read/listened to a book/watched an educational video that made me realize I have privilege due to one or more of my social identities.	Consolidated: R-7, R-12, R-16
Stage 2: Identity threat		
Cognitive Dissonance		
9	I'm confused about how to interact with people who have less privilege than me.	Rewritten: R-42
10	I'm confused about topics related to social privilege.	Consolidated: R-27, R-52
11	My social privilege makes me doubt my own value relative to other people.	Retained: R-45

12	My social privilege makes the world feel more complicated and confusing.	Rewritten: R-50
13	I'm not sure why or how social privilege applies to me.	Retained: R-54
Affective disssonance		
14	I feel anxious when the topic of social privilege comes up in conversation.	Consolidated: R-29, R-41, R-26, R-58
15	I feel threatened when my social privilege is pointed out to me.	Consolidated: R-51, R-30, R-40
16	I feel shame and/or guilt about my social privilege.	Consolidated: R-55, R-56
17	I feel sad about my social privilege.	Rewritten: R-60
18	I feel angry about my social privilege.	Consolidated: R-23, R-61
19	I am afraid/anxious about what the idea of social privilege means about me, society, or the world.	Rewritten: R-59
20	I feel sad/angry/guilt/shame when I think about what I have because of my social privilege compared to others.	Consolidated: R-31, R-34
21	I feel uncomfortable when I have to interact with someone with less privilege than myself.	Consolidated: R-4, R-22, R-36, R-37
22	Because of my social privilege, I am worried people will see my achievements as being undeserved.	Rewritten: R-24
Stage 3: Identity protection		
Defense		
23	I feel angry/upset when people say I have social privilege because I worked hard to get where I am.	Consolidated: R-35, R-1, R-21, R-28, R-43
24	Honestly, I’m uncomfortable with certain groups having equal rights.	New: Researcher added
25	I feel annoyed/angry that I am asked to take responsibility for historical events like slavery or colonialism, I wasn't even born then.	Rewritten: R-46
26	I think some groups of people (e.g. transgender folks/LGBTQ/Black folks/Asian folks/homeless folks) are just creating their own problems.	New: Researcher added
27	I think social privilege wrongly makes me feel bad for other people's mistakes or misfortunes.	Rewritten: R-49

28	History has shown that some groups of people (e.g. White, educated, American-born citizens) are better than others.	Retained: R-85
29	The concept of privilege is not real and you can't prove it exists.	Rewritten: R-79
30	It's a dog-eat-dog-world, we should all take our own opportunities and make the most of them, no matter what.	Rewritten: R-85
31	If people don't want to be treated differently, then they shouldn't act differently.	Retained: R-73
32	The concept of social privilege is a democratic lie or hoax.	Consolidated: R-77, R-78
33	I had difficulties growing up, therefore I don't have social privilege.	Retained: R-39
34	I get angry when people assume that I have social privilege just by looking at me.	Retained: R-38
Dilution		
35	I don't like to talk about social privilege because I don't like getting politica.	Consolidated: R-86, $R-25
36	Social privilege is so subjective and complicated that I sometimes doubt it even exists.	Consolidated: R-47, R-53, R-48
37	My social privilege did not seem to be an issue until recently, so I doubt why it is so important now.	New: Researcher added
38	I am a unique person with a complicated background so I'm not always sure why or how social privilege applies to me.	Consolidated: R-72, R-33
39	It's unfair that I am expected to take responsibility for different Isms/oppression because I have social privilege, I'm just one person.	Rewritten: R-65
40	If we just acknowledge that we're all made equal, discrimination wouldn't be an issue.	Rewritten: R-87
41	I don't see differences because we're all human.	Rewritten: R-62
42	Whether I have social privilege depends on the context I'm in and who I'm with.	Retained: R-88
43	Isms such as racism/sexism etc. only affects a few really sick people.	Consolidated: R-80, R-81

44	I have a close relationship with a someone who has a non-privileged identity (person of color, woman, disabled, religious minority etc.) and don't consider myself to be racist/sexist/ableist etc. racist/sexist/ableist/homophobic/xenophobic etc.	New: Researcher added
Emtpy advocacy		
45	I feel compelled to make my advocacy publicly visible.	Consolidated: R-64, R-75, R-63
46	I try to treat people who are less privileged than me better than I would treat my family or friends.	Consolidated: R-10, R-68
47	As a person with privilege, I believe it's my responsibility to try and fix the problems of less privileged people.	Rewritten: R-71
48	I volunteer/help/donate my time, energy, and/or resources to those less fortunate than me.	Consolidated: R-89, R-69
49	I want to show that I care about people less privileged than me so I try to spend more time with them.	New: Researcher added
50	I want less privileged people to know that I'm an ally for them and communicate my awareness of their oppression and my social privilege.	New: Researcher added
51	I try to be careful when interacting with less privileged people no matter what because I'm afraid of offending them.	Rewritten: R-3
52	I am shocked and surprised by hate crimes.	New: Researcher added
53	I'm so afraid to offend less privileged people that I avoid interacting with them.	New: Researcher added
54	I'm afraid of offending people who have less privilege than me.	New: Researcher added
55	I already know most of what there is to know about social justice.	Consolidated: R-66, R-20
56	The world would be a better place if we all simply treated thee less fortunate with a little respect.	Consolidated: R-83, R-82
57	The world would be a better place if we treated each other as equals.	Consolidated: R-15, R-82
58	I love exploring and adopting exotic cultures.	Rewritten: R-70
59	When I volunteer or help oppressed persons/groups, I feel better about myself.	Consolidated: R-90, R-76

Stage Four: Reconciliation items

Acceptance		
60	I believe feeling confused is a natural part of my social privilege and I expect it.	Rewritten: R-93
61	Naming my social privilege does not mean it goes away or I am no longer responsible for it.	Rewritten: R-96
62	I am learning to accept my social privilege, not get rid of it.	Rewritten: R-106
63	Even though I feel guilt and shame about my social privilege, I also know I will be okay.	Rewritten: R-123
64	Social privilege is part of who I am and the society I live in.	Consolidated: R-100, R-122
65	When I fully consider my social privilege and the consequences of becoming more aware, it scares me and I know this is normal.	Rewritten: R-117
66	I'm willing to lose existing relationships as I become more aware of my social privilege and a better ally.	Rewritten: R-108
67	I'm willing to lose parts of my existing identity to become more aware of my social privilege and a better ally.	Rewritten: R-113
68	I'm willing to see myself in a less-than-desirable light to accept and acknowledge my social privilege.	Rewritten: R-109
69	I'm willing lose power from my social privilege to deconstruct oppressive systems.	Consolidated: R-110, R-112
70	I know I need to stop making excuses for my own social privilege guilt.	New: Researcher added
71	I know who I am and where I am in life is largely due to my unearned benefits and advantages that I received from birth.	Rewritten: R-101
Integration		
72	Remaining silent in the face of injustice can be an enaction of my privilege (silence is violence).	Retained: R-97
73	Becoming more aware of social privilege is a continuous and never-ending journey of learning.	Rewritten: R-107
74	Privilege can act as a barrier to making me aware of some truths about myself and the world.	Rewritten: R-116
75	It is important to understand my own social privilege to make our society better.	Rewritten: R-121

76	The most important step of being an ally is to reflect on my privilege before taking action (Spanierman & Smith, 2017).	Rewritten: R-124
77	To be an ally, I need to demonstrate a nuanced understanding of systemic privilege and oppression (Spanierman & Smith, 2017).	New: Researcher added
78	To be an ally, I should be responsible and committed to using my privilege to promote equity (Spanierman & Smith, 2017).	New: Researcher added
79	All allies should engage in actions that disrupt oppression (Spanierman & Smith, 2017).	New: Researcher added
80	The work of being a privileged person involves being uncomfortable.	Retained: R-120
81	I have made mistakes and even harmed others because of my social privilege.	New: Researcher added
82	I know I will make mistakes when interacting with people who have less social privilege than me.	Rewritten: R-111
83	I regret my past thoughts and feelings about less privileged people/groups.	Retained: R-44
84	Parts of how I exist in the world is due to being socialized as privileged person.	Consolidated: R-118, R-119
85	My relationships can benefit from the insight of social privilege.	Consolidated: R-115, R-102
86	I try to validate others who have experienced oppression and internalize that in my future actions.	Retained: R-99
87	Because of my social identity, I feel guilt or shame for being a part of America's history of oppression.	Retained: R-47
88	I wonder/doubt if I was really helping when I volunteered or helped oppressed persons/groups in the past.	Consolidated: R-91, R-92
Agent to Agent Advocacy		
89	When it comes to talking about social privilege, I think those who have social privilege should talk to other people who also have social privilege.	Consolidated: R-98, R-125
90	I'm finding ways to use my privilege to advocate in solidarity with less privileged people and not for (Spanierman & Smith, 2017).	Consolidated: R-105, R-94

91	It is important to support and have compassion for others who are exploring their own social privilege.	Consolidated: R-103, R-104, R-114
92	As an ally, I have received a lot of help from other privileged persons	Rewritten: R-95
93	As an ally, I have or am prepared to encounter resistance from other privileged persons (Goodman, 2011; Spanierman & Smith, 2017).	New: Researcher added
94	It is important for me to "call in" or address similarly privileged people who make microaggressions.	Rewritten: R-67
General Knowledge & Experiences of Social Privilege		
95	Social privilege provides unearned advantages based on social identity categories (Race, Gender, SES, Sexual Identity, Age, etc.).	Retained: R-126
96	My social privilege comes at the expense of others.	Retained: R-127
97	Because of my awareness of my social privilege, I have lost relationships or experience tension in them.	Retained: R-129
98	I believe experiences of social privilege and oppression have been repeated throughout history.	New: Researcher added
99	After learning more about social privilege, I realized so much of what I learned about American history is a lie.	Rewritten: R-32
100	Social privilege is a system issue.	Retained: R-128
Awareness of Social Identity Domain Items		
Age		
101	Depending on their age, a person’s age can grant privilege.	Retained: R-130
Disabiilty		
102	People who have a disability do not have privilege.	Retained: R-131
103	People who have an invisible disability have privilege.	Retained: R-132
Religion		
104	People who were raised Christian and now identify as agnostic or atheist do not have privilege.	Retained: R-133 (Reverse Score)
105	People who identify as Christian always have privilege.	Retained: R-134
Ethnicity/race		
106	People who are White always have privilege.	Retained: R-135
107	Biracial people have privilege because it is considered desirable or exotic.	Retained: R-136

108	Biracial people have privilege because they can get “the best of both worlds.”	Retained: R-137 (Reverse Score)
SES		
109	People who come from a middle class background have privilege.	Consolidated: R-138, R-139
Sexuallity		
110	People who identify as LGBTQIA+ do not have privilege.	Retained: R-140
Indigenous		
111	People who have an indigenous or Native American background do not have privilege.	Retained: 141
Natonality		
112	People who have U.S. citizenship have privilege.	Retained: R-143
113	People who are born in the U.S. have privilege.	Retained: R-142
Gender		
114	Gender identity is a choice.	Retained: R-144 (Reverse Score)
115	People who identify with their gender which was assigned at birth (cis-gender) have privilege.	Retained: R-145
116	Men always have privilege compared to women.	Retained: R-146
117	Women sometimes have more privilege than men depending on the context.	Retained: R-147 (Reverse Score)
Conducive factor		
Intrapersonal safety		
118	I'm confident that my core sense of self is resilient even in the face of new information that challenges what I already know.	New: Researcher added
119	I am motivated to learn more about myself and grow even if it means I will be uncomfortable.	New: Researcher added
120	I have self-compassion for myself, even when I learn things about myself that I don't like.	New: Researcher added
Interpersonal safety		
121	I have had the support, guidance, mentorship, and/or friendship of a similar privileged person to help me with my own privilege awareness.	New: Researcher added
122	I have had the support, guidance, mentorship, and/or friendship of a person who does not have privilege to help me with my own privilege awareness.	New: Researcher added

123	I have other similarly privileged persons to talk to openly and without judgement about my own privilege.	New: Researcher added
Cognitive scaffolding		
124	I have taken a class/training and/or have read/listened to books that helped me understand the concept of privilege and related terms and definition.	New: Researcher added
125	I have taken a class/training and/or have read/listened to books that helped me become more aware of my own privilege.	New: Researcher added
126	I have taken a class/training and/or have read/listened to books that helped me become more aware of systemic privilege.	New: Researcher added
127	I have taken a class/training and/or have read/listened to books that helped me put words to the way I feel as I have become more aware of privilege.	New + C29:C157: Researcher added